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WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

1540 - 1576.

From the Original picture presented by the Earl to his friend Richard Bagot, Esq. of Blithfield.

LIVES AND LETTERS

OF THE

DEVEREUX, EARLS OF ESSEX,

IN THE REIGNS OF

ELIZABETH, JAMES I., AND CHARLES I.

1540—1646.

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BY THE HONORABLE

WALTER BOURCHIER DEVEREUX,

CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1853.

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NAMES OF THE QUARTERINGS.

Devereux.	Bourchier.	Woodstock.	De Bohun.
Milo.	Mandeville.	Louvain.	Woodville.
Crophull.	Verdon.	Bigod.	Mareschal.
Ferrers.	Chester.	Quincie.	Blanchmain.

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THESE VOLUMES

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

TO

ROBERT, VISCOUNT HEREFORD,

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF

THE ANCIENT HOUSE OF DEVEREUX.

PREFACE.

THE British Navy is one of the noblest professions in the world, and beyond all others affords health and vigour to the frame, and by its early responsibilities gives firmness and self-reliance to the character. With these advantages, it has its drawbacks, not the least of which is the position in which a naval officer finds himself, when the spring-tide of promotion has borne him to the higher rank of his profession. He is literally, as well as metaphorically, left *high and dry;* for the opportunities of employment are so few, and the candidates so numerous, that he must be content to pass three fourths of the remainder of his life in retreat. Under these circumstances, if he is not disposed, "like the fat weed, to rot himself in "ease on Lethe's wharf," he must seek out some new occupation.

The necessity here described has been the parent of this work; and I trust that the great interest of the materials will, in the estimation of the reader, counterbalance the defects of the author; while, considering the circumstances under which one whose past life has not been favourable to literary pursuits, has been induced to appear before the public, I venture to hope that the justice of the critic will be tempered with mercy.

The work contains the lives of three Earls of Essex,

of the house of Devereux. The career of the first was confined to Ireland, and, I fear, may not prove interesting to many readers; yet his letters afford a lively picture of the state of the sister isle and the condition of its inhabitants in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and, among other things, it is curious to observe that the mode of warfare by which he intended to subdue Ulster, "cutting passes so wide as "ten horsemen might ride abreast in the narrowest "way," was identical with that lately proposed by the great military authority of this age as the most effectual method of conquering the Kaffirs.

The second Earl was the celebrated favourite of Queen Elizabeth, parts of whose history are familiar to every person, but of whose romantic life and character no complete memoir has been published. Many of his letters are of singular interest and beauty.

The third and last Earl is chiefly known as the Captain General of the armies of the Parliament, from the commencement of the great rebellion in 1642, until the Self-denying Ordinance deprived the members of both Houses of Parliament of their commands in 1645.

A very small proportion of the letters introduced have been previously printed; where that is the case, they are taken from works chiefly known to the student of history, and are necessary to connect the narrative.

The public depositaries from which I have chiefly extracted my materials are, the State Paper Office, the British Museum, Lambeth Palace Library, the Chapter-House at Westminster, and the Bodleian

Library at Oxford; and I have to express my gratitude to all the officers of those establishments, to whom I have at any time had occasion to apply, for the readiness with which they have afforded me their assistance.

But many of the most curious and interesting letters are derived from private sources, and I experience the utmost pleasure in acknowledging the kind and liberal spirit in which the Marchioness of Bath, the Earl of Ashburnham, Lord Bagot, and William Hulton, Esq., of Hulton, admitted me to the treasures in their charge and possession. The letters derived from Lord Bagot and Mr. Hulton, are indeed beyond all price.

The Reverend Lord John Thynne gave me an excellent drawing and history of a ring which is preserved at Hawnes, and is supposed to be that given by Queen Elizabeth to Essex, and treacherously detained by the Countess of Nottingham. Charles Warner, Esq., the Queen's Attorney-General in Trinidad, permitted me to make a drawing from another ring, an heir-loom in his family, which claims the same distinction.

To Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., I am indebted for the block from which the engraving of Chartley is taken[1], as well as for much information on points of family history.

[1] In a note, p. 172., Vol. I., I have stated that the hangings of a bed, worked by Mary, Queen of Scots, during her confinement at Chartley, were burnt with the house in 1781. This was an error; the hangings in question not only escaped that fire, but, on the occasion of a second fire in 1847, the conflagration stopped at the very room containing the bed, which is entirely uninjured.

William Salt, Esq., laid before me his most valuable archæological collections of Staffordshire.

To all the above I have to express my sincere thanks and acknowledgments of the readiness and kindness with which they have assisted me.

I was not permitted to have access to the manuscripts at Hatfield, which might have thrown some additional light on the relations between the second Earl and the younger Cecyll; and I cannot but feel that I may, in consequence, have taken too favourable a view of the conduct of the latter.

The archæologist will perhaps blame me for having modernised the orthography of the letters; but I am sure that the majority of readers will be on my side. The proper names only I thought it right to spell as signed by the bearers themselves.

W. B. D.

London, Nov. 10. 1852.

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ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 48. line 7. for "the Baron of Dungannon was," read "is."
152. line 13. before "grandson," insert "great."
170. line 9. for "harriers," read "barriers."
265. line 3. for "breech," read "breach."
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LIVES AND LETTERS

OF THE

DEVEREUX, EARLS OF ESSEX.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DESCENT OF THE EARLS OF ESSEX.

The house from which the Earls of Essex descended was of high rank in Normandy; but as the branches which became naturalised in England alone concern us, I shall only observe that the Count of Rosmar and Mantelake, a relative of the Dukes of Normandy, sent two sons, Edward and Robert d'Evreux, with William I. to the conquest of England. The elder of these took the surname of De Sarisburie, from the manor or lordship of Salisbury, which, with many other manors extending from Salisbury and Amesbury to Hinton in Somersetshire, were granted to him. In the fourth generation this vast inheritance devolved on Ela or Adela, Countess of Salis-

bury, that earldom having been granted to her grandfather by the Empress Maud. Ela married William Longespée, natural son of Henry II. and fair Rosamond Clifford, who became, in her right, Earl of Salisbury. They laid the fourth and fifth stones of Salisbury Cathedral; the three first stones having been laid in the names of the King, the Pope, and the Bishop. Longespée was the first person buried within its precincts (1225). After the death of her husband, Countess Ela became devoted to religion, and founding in one day, anno 1238, the abbey of Laycock in Wilts, and the monastery of Hinton in Somersetshire, took the habit of a nun, became abbess of Laycock, where she died, and was buried in the cloister: the inscription round the flat stone which covers her ashes may be decyphered at this day.[1] The honours and estates of this branch became ultimately merged in the Crown.

Robert d'Evreux, the younger of the two brothers who accompanied the Conqueror, appears to have settled in the Marches of Wales; and of his descendants for ten generations little need be said, but that they lived as knights and nobles did live in those days: one was killed at the battle of Evesham, 1265, taking part with the rebellious barons against Henry III.; others were engaged in the French wars under the royal banner; some were summoned as barons to Parliament; others, as sheriffs of Herefordshire, were

[1] The inscription runs as follows: "Infra sunt deposita, Elæ venerabilis ossa, quæ dedit has sacras monialibus, quarum abbatissa quidem, quæ sancte vixit; et Comitissa Sarum. Virtutum plena bonarum obiit. 1261."

fully occupied with their Welsh neighbours. Sir Walter Devereux, in the time of Richard II., married the heiress of CROPHULL[1], VERDON, and BIGOD. His grandson Sir Walter Devereux, K. G., married the heiress of Lord FERRERS of Chartley; was summoned by that title in 1461, and fell at Bosworth fighting for Richard III., 22nd August, 1485. The descent of the heiress of Ferrers from Keviliock, Earl of Chester, and Quincy, Earl of Winchester, brought into the shield the arms of CHESTER, QUINCY, and BLANCHMAIN. John Devereux, second Lord Ferrers of that name, married Cecily, heiress of the houses of BOURCHIER and DE BOHUN.

Humfrie de Bohune, a companion of the Conqueror, married Maud, daughter of Edward d'Evreux surnamed De Sarisburie. His son married the daughter of MILO, Earl of Hereford, Constable of England, who became coheiress to her brothers, and brought the office of Constable to the Bohuns.

Humphrey de Bohun the third married Margaret, sister of William, King of Scots. His son, Henry de Bohun, created Earl of Hereford by King John, married Maud, heiress of the MANDEVILLES, Earls of Essex: he was one of the twenty-five barons who undertook that King John should observe Magna Charta. Humphrey de Bohun the fifth, Earl of Hereford and Essex and Constable of England, called by all men "la bone Counte de Hereford," was godfather to Edward I. His son Humphrey married

[1] The names printed in small capitals show the quarterings borne in the arms of the Earl of Essex, on the title-page.

a daughter of William de Braose, Lord of Brecknock, coheiress of Mareschal or MARSHAL, Earl of Pembroke.

Of their son Humphrey, the seventh earl, it is related[1] that, in 1297, when Edward I. called a parliament at Salisbury, and required certain of the great lords to go to the wars of Gascony, which required more forces, they excused themselves on one plea or another, and the King in great anger said they should go, or he would give their lands to those who would. Whereupon, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, High Constable, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, declared that if the King went in person, they would go, but not otherwise. The Earl Marshal declared his willingness to go with the King, and march before him in the vaunt-guard, as by right of inheritance he ought to do. The King told him he should go with any other. "I am "not so bound," said the Earl; "neither will I take "that journey without you." Then the King swore, "By God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang." "And "I swear by the same oath," replied Norfolk, "I will "neither go nor hang;" and so, without taking leave, the Earls departed, and immediately assembling forces to resist the King, stood upon their guard. The wary monarch feeling that these bold earls were too strong for him at that moment, took no steps against them; like his emblem the leopard, "il reculait pour "mieux sauter." Edward went to France: during his absence the Scots, under Sir William Wallace, had

[1] Daniell's Hist. Coll., who gives, as his authority, Matthew of Westminster.

great success, and drove the English out of Scotland. When the King returned victorious from Gascony in 1300, he assembled a great army at Roxburgh, where he was attended, notwithstanding what had passed, by the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford, who were at length pardoned their contempt on certain conditions. Norfolk resigned all his lands and honours to the King, and received them back as a grant for his life; while Hereford's son and successor took the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the King, as his wife, without a dower, and all his honours were secured to their issue. The two Earls with the Earl of Lincoln led the vanguard at the battle of Falkland. In 1314, Hereford was one of those who, in conjunction with the Earl of Lancaster, beheaded Piers Gaveston near Warwick; and was afterwards in arms to obtain the banishment of the Spensers.

His two elder sons, John and Humphrey, died without issue. The third, William de Bohun, for his services in the great sea fight off Sluys, 1340, at Creçy, and in Scotland, had been created Earl of Northampton, and Knight of the Garter. His son Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, and K.G., was the last male of the De Bohuns. He had two daughters: the eldest, Eleanor, married Thomas of WOODSTOCK, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III., who became, in right of his wife, Earl of Essex and Northampton, Constable of England, and Lord of Brecknock. The second daughter, Mary de Bohun, married, 1380, Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV. She brought the

earldom of Hereford to her husband, and, although she did not live to be Queen, was the mother of Kings. Henry V. was her son.

Anne, eldest daughter and coheiress of Thomas of Woodstock and Eleanor de Bohun, married William Bourchier, Earl of Eu or Ewe, in Normandy, having been previously wife to Edmund, Earl of Stafford.

John de Bourchier, K.G., son of Robert, Lord Chancellor to Edward III., married Eleanor, daughter and heiress of John de Louvain or LOVAINE[1], and was summoned as Lord Lovaine. He was father to the above William, who married Anne Plantagenet.

Henry Bourchier, Earl of Eu, created Earl of Essex and Viscount Bourchier, K.G., heir also to his cousin Elizabeth, which gave him the barony of Bourchier, married Isabel of York, daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, and aunt to King Edward IV.

William, eldest son of this marriage, died in his father's life, leaving issue by his wife Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Richard WOODVILLE, Earl Rivers, and sister to Edward the Fourth's Queen; Henry, who succeeded his grandfather; and Cecily, who, as before stated, married John Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley. Henry Bourchier, last Earl of Essex of that family, and K.G., was one of the most magnificent among the noblemen who formed the escort of Henry VIII. at the "field of cloth of gold," where he executed the office of Earl Marshal. He was much

[1] Godfrey de Lovaine, great-great-grandfather to John, was brother to Henry I., Duke of Brabant, and was lineally descended from Charlemagne.

favoured by that King, who appointed him captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, on the formation of that band in 1509. He was killed by a fall from his horse in 1539, leaving one daughter, who dying issueless, his sister eventually became his heiress. Her son, Walter Devereux, served Henry VIII. long and well: for his gallantry in the sea fight off Conquet, in 1523, he was made a Knight of the Garter; and created Viscount Hereford, in 1550, by Edward VI. This nobleman was twice married; first, to Mary, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset; secondly, to Margaret[1], daughter of Robert Garnish, of Kenton, Suffolk, who remarried Lord Willoughby, of Parham.

Sir Richard Devereux, the eldest son, married Dorothy, daughter of George, Earl of Huntingdon; was made a Knight of the Bath by Edward VI. at his coronation, 20th February, 1547, and died the same year, leaving issue: — Walter, the subject of the following pages; George; Elizabeth, married to Sir John Vernon, of Hodnet, Salop; Anne, married to Henry Clifford.

In 1558, the same year in which Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, Walter Devereux succeeded his grandfather as Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourchier, and Lovaine. The Devereux had been among the earliest of the great families to embrace the reformed religion. Lord Hereford united himself still more closely to the Protestants by his marriage with the daughter of Sir Francis Knollys in

[1] From the son by this marriage the present Viscount Hereford is descended.

1561 or 1562. Sir Francis had been a courtier and gentleman pensioner in the reign of Edward VI.; but, on the commencement of the persecutions under Mary, had, with many others of his countrymen, whose stern religious principles would not suffer them to bow before the blasts of Popery, sought refuge in Germany, where they became imbued with the severe doctrines of the Church of Geneva. It was this party, that, on their return to England after the accession of Elizabeth, from affecting greater purity of worship and severity of manners, received the name, at first bestowed in ridicule, but which afterwards became so formidable, of Puritans. The Calvinism of old Sir Francis did not, however, prevent him from resuming the life of a courtier. His wife's mother having been sister to Anne Boleyn, Lady Knollys was first cousin to the Queen. Sir Francis held office in the royal household during his life.

The issue of Lord Hereford's marriage was:

Penelope, born at Chartley - -	1563.
Dorothy " -	Sept. 17. 1565.
Robert, born at Netherwood[1], Herefordshire,	Nov. 10. 1567.
Walter, born at Chartley, -	Oct. 31. 1569.
Francis, who died an infant.	

In 1572, Lord Hereford was created Earl of Essex and a Knight of the Garter; and, in 1576, was ap-

[1] Although I have followed the general report of former writers in making Netherwood the birthplace of Robert, Earl of Essex, I must observe that it is more than doubtful, for the register of Thornbury, in which parish Netherwood is situated, makes no mention of the fact. Netherwood was at the time a seat of the Baskerville family, who were connected by marriage with Devereux.

pointed Earl Marshal of Ireland. The Earl of Essex and his successors, as well as the heralds, were in the habit of adding the title of Eu to that of Essex. The earldom of Eu had been granted to William Bourchier by Henry V., with the territory of that name in Normandy, for the annual payment, on the feast of St. George, of one garde brache[1]; but after the year 1451, which saw the English driven out of all their continental possessions excepting Calais, the title of Eu had been disused in the summons to Parliament.

Walter, Earl of Essex, died at Dublin, the 22nd September, 1576, and was succeeded by his eldest son Robert, who married, in 1590, Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, and widow of Sir Philip Sidney: she married thirdly, in 1603, Richard, Earl of Clanrickarde and St. Alban's.

Robert Earl of Essex was K.G., Master of the Horse, Master-general of the Ordnance, Earl Marshal of England, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was attainted of high treason, and beheaded in the Tower of London, the 25th February, 1601: leaving issue,

Robert, baptized at St. Olave's, Hart Street,		Jan.	22. 1591.
Walter	„ „	Jan.	21. 1592.
Henry	„ „	April	14. 1595.
Frances, born in London		Sept.	30. 1599.
Dorothy		Dec.	1600.

On the accession of James I., Robert Devereux was

[1] Garde brache was another name for brassart, or vambrace, the armour which covered the arm.

restored in blood and honours. In January, 1606, he married Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, which marriage was dissolved in 1613, and she married Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. The Earl of Essex married again in 1630, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Paulet of Edington, Wilts, by whom he had one son, Robert, who died an infant. Lord Essex was, in 1641, Lord Chamberlain to Charles I.; in 1642 he became commander-in-chief of the army of the Parliament. He died the 16th September, 1646, and was buried in Westminster Abbey at the public expense.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE OF WALTER, EARL OF ESSEX.

YOUTH OF WALTER, VISCOUNT HEREFORD. — HIS MARRIAGE. — JOINED WITH THE EARLS OF SHREWSBURY AND HUNTINGDON IN GUARDING MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. — RAISES A BODY OF TROOPS, AND SERVES IN THE REBELLION OF THE EARLS OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND. — CREATED K.G. — EARL OF ESSEX. — VOLUNTEERS TO SERVE IN ULSTER. — SOME ACCOUNT OF IRELAND AND ITS INHABITANTS. — THE QUEEN'S LOAN TO ESSEX. — DIFFICULTIES ABOUT HIS APPOINTMENT. — WRITES TO BURGHLEY. — DEPENDS ON HIS FRIENDSHIP. — HIS FAREWELL AUDIENCE OF THE QUEEN. — ARRIVAL AT KNOCKFERGUS. — RECEIVES SUBMISSION OF SEVERAL IRISH CHIEFS, WHO, SEEING HIS WEAKNESS, SOON AFTERWARDS RELAPSE INTO REBELLION. — LETTERS TO BURGHLEY AND THE COUNCIL, DESCRIBING HIS PROCEEDINGS. — PROPOSES TO BURGHLEY TO MAKE A MARRIAGE BETWEEN HIS SON AND BURGHLEY'S DAUGHTER. — LETTER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

PASSING over the childhood and early youth of Walter, second Viscount Hereford, of which we only learn from Dugdale, that, his education having been carefully attended to, and his diligent application rewarded with success, he became early distinguished for modesty, learning, and loyalty, we proceed at once to his introduction at the court of Queen Elizabeth, where he soon became captive to the charms of Lettice Knollys, a fair maiden of the court, celebrated for her beauty and spirit, and nearly connected with the Queen. Hereford was not more than twenty-two

years of age, and Lettice about the same, when she gave him her hand in 1561 or 1562. Judging from the privacy and retirement in which they lived at Chartley, from hearing nothing of them at Court for several years, and from the excessive dislike to Lady Hereford, which was in after years evinced by Elizabeth, it would seem that her Majesty felt no great partiality even at this period for her young cousin. It is possible that the Earl of Leicester, who, fifteen years later, became her husband, might even then have distinguished Lettice, and have excited the Queen's jealousy.

Whatever the cause, the Viscount's services were not called for till the year 1568; that year in which Mary, Queen of Scots, crowned the misfortunes and errors of her life by placing herself in the power of a jealous and vindictive rival. Elizabeth, instead of sheltering Mary, imprisoned her at Tutbury Castle; the Earl of Shrewsbury[1], who had charge of her, being instructed to call on the Earl of Huntingdon[2] and Viscount Hereford, should he suspect any plotting on the part of Mary's friends to effect her release. Those noblemen were ordered to keep in readiness such a body of horse as would render any attempt abortive.

Lesley, Bishop of Ross, who was Mary's agent to Elizabeth, appears to have made some reflections upon Huntingdon and Hereford extremely offensive

[1] George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, whose second wife was the famous Bess of Hardwicke. He died, 1590.

[2] Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, K. G.

to them, which they repelled in a joint letter to Secretary Cecill from Tutbury, on the 27th September, 1569. Hereford added a postscript on his own account in these words, "That which the "Bishop of Ross hath reported of me is most untrue; "for any unfit speech which hath passed from me, "either of the Duke of Norfolk or of the Earl of "Leicester, I desire but to have it justified to my "face, when time shall serve. I have spoken nothing "which I will not say again; and yet, that I have "not said which might give either of them cause of "offence. W. HEREFORD."[1]

This clearly relates to something in connection with Mary and those two noblemen, each of whom was, at different periods, in treaty to become her husband. Hereford's postscript seems as if it was written in the hope that somebody would make him justify his words. There certainly was no friendship between him and Leicester.

The zealous Roman Catholic party in the North of England, at whose head were the Earls of Northumberland[2] and Westmoreland[3], began now, in addition to their project for restoring the supremacy of their religion, to entertain hopes, with the assistance of foreign powers, of restoring Mary to liberty, and placing her on the throne of England. Their intrigues

[1] Collection of State Papers left by William Lord Burghley, by Haynes, p. 552.

[2] Thomas Percy, seventh Earl of Northumberland, K. G., beheaded at York, 11th September, 1572.

[3] Charles Nevil, sixth Earl of Westmoreland, married to a sister of the Duke of Norfolk.

were not unknown to the Queen, who summoned the two Earls to court to answer for their conduct, and thus forced an explosion before their plans were matured.

Levies were instantly made and ordered to assemble at Leicester. Hereford raised on his estate at Chartley, a body of 150 horse, which he announced in a letter to the Queen.

No. I.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

I have received your Majesty's letter; I can neither be so diligent, nor yet so forward in the service of your Majesty, as my duty doth bind me. According to your Majesty's direction and commandment, I will repair with all the force that I have levied, as speedily as it is possible unto Leicester, and so forward to what place it shall please them whom your Majesty hath appointed to have the government of your army. I will most faithfully and truly serve your Majesty to the uttermost of my power; and as I would willingly have gone under the meanest man whom your Majesty would have appointed to have taken this charge, so am I most glad that I shall serve your Majesty under the conduct of so honourable personages.[2] God send your Majesty long life and most happy reign, and confound all your enemies. From Chartley,

[1] State Paper Office.

[2] Ambrose Dudley, son of John, Duke of Northumberland, created Earl of Warwick, 4 Eliz., K.G. Ob. s. p. 1589.

Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton, High Admiral of England, created Earl of Lincoln the same day that Hereford was made Earl of Essex. His third wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, was the Geraldine of the Earl of Surrey. Ob. 1585.

the 27th of November, 1569. Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

W. HEREFORD.

In a letter to Sir William Cecill of the same date, he says that he received the Queen's letter that day at five o'clock, desiring him to repair with his levies to Leicester, where he would find my Lord of Warwick on Tuesday night. They will "march to-morrow to "Lichfield, and from thence to Leicester is twenty-"two miles, so that it will not be possible to arrive "there before Thursday."

The Earl of Warwick writes to Sir W. Cecill from Leicester on the 1st December. "My Lord of Here-"ford has been here with me, whom I find as willing "to serve Her Majesty as man can be; and, according "as you wished me, I have dealt with my Lord as "touching the Marshalship; he took it very friendly "at my hand for offering it, yet made he some diffi-"culty in taking of it; for he pleaded more ig-"norance to discharge so great a burden, than I fear "he need to have cause to do; it is a sign of good "nature in him if he will not willingly take upon "him more than he may well discharge; yet, never-"theless, with much ado I got him to take it. . . . . "Surely I will love him the better while I live for "this great forwardness which I find in him, I mean "the Viscount."

The army under the Earl of Warwick and Lord Clinton consisted of 12,000 men, raised in the south and midland counties. The other principal officers were Walter, Viscount Hereford, High Marshal of the

field[1]; Lord Willoughby of Parham[2]; Charles Howard[3], afterwards Lord Howard of Effingham, General of the Horse; young Henry Knollys, eldest son of Sir Francis, his lieutenant; Edward Horsey, captain of the Isle of Wight, with 500 harquebusiers from the same isle; Captain Leighton, with other 500 harquebusiers, Londoners, and many other worthy gentlemen and valiant captains.

The northern army of 7000 men was under the command of the Earl of Sussex,[4] Lord President of the North.

This rebellion assumed the aspect of a religious war; the cross, the stigmata, and the eucharistic emblems were displayed on the banners of the insurgent Earls, who at Durham burnt the church service books of the Cathedral. Disappointed in their expectation of general support from the Roman Catholics of England, mustering less than 6000 men, and wanting funds, they were unable to advance towards London farther than Tadcaster. Mary was then at Tutbury, from which place the Earl of Shrewsbury writes in some anxiety on the 24th November, that he has

[1] The Marshal was the officer next in rank and authority to the Constable or Commander-in-chief: he marshalled the army, commanded in the absence of the chief: by his office he had the vaward in every field, kept the roll of the army, assigned the quarters, and appointed the watches, sentinels, and scouts.

[2] Created Lord Willoughby of Parham, 1 Edward VI. His second wife was the mother of Lord Essex. He died, 1574. This title became extinct, 1779, on the death of the seventeenth lord.

[3] Charles, second Lord Howard of Effingham, grandson of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, K. G.; afterwards Lord High Admiral.

[4] Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, K. G., Lord Chamberlain. Ob. 1583.

intelligence that the two Earls have arrived at Tadcaster, only fifty-four miles from Tutbury, which castle was very weak, and only able to resist a sudden attack; that he has written to the Earl of Huntingdon and the Viscount (Hereford) to be there the next day to take order, and desires the Queen to have consideration to his charge. Mary was accordingly removed to Coventry, where she remained until the month of January following.

Sussex had now collected his forces. Warwick was advancing from the south. The insurgents retreated to Hexham, and thence dispersed without striking a blow. Westmoreland escaped to France, Northumberland to Scotland, where he was betrayed, given up by the Regent Morton, and beheaded at York.

On the 17th January, 1572, the Duke of Norfolk was tried at Westminster for high treason, by twenty-five Peers, Commissioners, of whom Hereford was one. He was charged with conspiring to dethrone the Queen: with entering into a treaty of marriage with Mary, Queen of Scots, although he knew she laid claim to the crown of England: with assisting the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in their rebellion: demanding succours of the Pope and Duke d'Alva: and with conspiring to restore the Roman Catholic religion. He was found guilty by the unanimous voice of his judges, and on the 4th June was beheaded.

The Queen had already expressed her approbation of Hereford's zeal in her service. She now gave more solid proofs of her favour. On St. George's Day, 1572,

he was made Knight of the Garter, and, on the 4th May following, created Earl of Essex. An extremely curious account of the ceremonies of installation and creation, by William Penson, Lancaster Herald, is preserved in the State Paper Office, but is too long for insertion here.

Having experienced the Queen's favour, the new-made Earl began before long to feel the jealousy of those who desired a monopoly of her smiles and gifts, and were ready to unite for the removal of this new, and apparently dangerous, competitor. Leicester, indeed, is said to have had another reason for desiring the absence of Essex. In the words of Fuller[1], "he loved the "Earl's nearest relation better "than the Earl himself." The enemies of Leicester always criminated his friends and connections, hoping through them to wound him: Lady Essex, having after her husband's death married the Earl of Leicester, has most unscrupulously been accused of an intrigue with him during her first husband's life; there is not only no proof against her, but a very strong presumption in favour of her innocence, which we will not now stop to discuss.

Essex, naturally indisposed to idleness, and stimulated by his newly acquired honours, was easily persuaded that in Ireland there lay a field for service, in which he might not only prove his gratitude for the favours already bestowed on him by the Queen, but likewise reap a large harvest of honour and dis-

[1] Worthies of England.

tinction by subduing the turbulent and rebellious inhabitants of Ulster, and forming them into a peaceful and loyal population. Open, honest, and unsuspicious, he saw not the pitfall laid for him in this insidious advice, but offered his services.

The province of Ulster had lately been ravaged by Brian Mac Phelim[1], and the town of Knockfergus burnt, which was the immediate cause of the proposed expedition. As almost all the remainder of Essex's life was spent in Ireland, and his fortune and his hopes were shipwrecked there, a short sketch of the history of that country, with some notice of its condition at the time he went over, will not be misplaced here.[2]

In the year 1167, Dermot Mac Murrogh, King of Leinster, having carried off Devorghal, wife of O'Rorke, King of Meath, a confederation of the Princes of Ireland was formed against him, by which he was compelled to fly the country. Dermot took refuge in England, and offered to acknowledge himself a vassal of Henry II., and to do service to him as his feudal lord, if that monarch would aid in restoring him to his kingdom. Henry was at that time engaged with his French affairs, and unable or unwilling to

[1] A powerful chieftain, of the sept of the O'Neils.

[2] This account of the history of Ireland, and manners and customs of the people, has been collected from Rich. Cox's Hibernia Anglicana fol. Lond. 1692; Hist. of Ireland, collected by Hanmer, Campion, and Spenser, fol. Dublin, 1633; and Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, fol. Lond 1617. Campion wrote in 1571; Edmund Spenser went to Ireland in 1588, as secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton; and Fynes Moryson filled the same office under Lord Mountjoye in 1600.

undertake the enterprise in person; but he had no objection to the road thither being prepared for him; and gave leave to Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, to go over as an auxiliary to Dermot Mac Murrogh. Strongbow accordingly landed with 1200 men at Waterford on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1170. From Waterford he marched to Dublin; and, placing in that city a garrison under Miles de Cogan, ravaged the country of Meath. After the taking of Waterford, Strongbow had married Eva, daughter of Dermot Mac Murrogh, receiving with her the gift of all Leinster after her father's death, which happened the next year, 1171. On the death of Dermot, however, most of the Irish deserted Strongbow; and about the same time King Henry, jealous lest his subject should complete the conquest of Ireland, and anticipate him by receiving the submission of its inhabitants, prohibited all vessels with men and stores from passing over thither, and commanded all the English to return home. Thus weakened, and pressed upon by an army greatly surpassing his own small force, Strongbow retreated to Dublin, where he was blockaded. A council of war was held to consider the ignominious terms offered by the besieging Irish, when Miles de Cogan proposed that, rather than accept them, they should die in endeavouring to cut their way through, and requested that he might lead the attack. The Irish, though always fighting, were yet totally ignorant of the art of war: they were armed with an axe and two darts, and stones were their chief missiles: without order, they rushed in a

confused mass upon their foe; it is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the discipline of the English, added to the suddenness of their attack, gave them a complete and easy victory. The Irish were completely routed, with immense slaughter, and left the English in possession of their camp, which contained supplies sufficient to maintain Strongbow's handful of men for a whole year.

In 1172, King Henry went over in person and received the submission of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Ulster was subsequently subdued by Sir John de Courcy. Satisfied with his success, Henry returned to England, leaving no army behind him; but a great number of English, receiving grants of land, settled there and maintained the English authority at their own charge. One of the laws of Tanistry[1] was, that no Chief could perform any act prejudicial to his successor; and, there being no royal army to keep them in awe, the Irish soon rebelled, declaring that they were not bound by the submission of their fathers; indeed, the English colonists became very shortly as wild and rebellious as the Irish themselves, and the history of the country till the middle of the fourteenth century presents little more than a continual record of warfare. The English Irish, as the colonists came to be called, the "mere" or wild Irish, and the Hebridean Scots, were always at strife with the government or with each other.

[1] Tanistry was the law of inheritance for the chiefs of every sept or family; by it, priority of birth was very little regarded.

In 1361, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, went to Ireland as viceroy; and, during the seven years of his government, so quieted the realm that good order prevailed until the wars of the Roses, when many of the English being drawn over to join therein, left their lands undefended, and the Irish rushed in and took possession of them. From this time the authority of the Crown seems to have been less respected, and seditions, rapine, and murder filled the land.

The English Irish, although much barbarised by intercourse with the Irish, preserved for the most part the customs of England: while those Irish who bordered on the Pale had made considerable advances towards civilisation; but in the remote parts of the country they were complete savages. They lived almost a nomadic life, driving their great herds of cattle from pasture to pasture: even the Chiefs rarely had fixed residences, but in convenient spots built houses of clay, or of hurdles covered with turf. What little corn they grew was kept for their horses: bread was rarely seen among them; they lived chiefly on milk and curds, with roots and herbs; seldom eating flesh, but, when they did so, satisfied with squeezing the blood from the meat, they ate it uncooked. According to Moryson, horse-flesh, especially if the animal had died a natural death, was esteemed a rare delicacy: "after one of these flesh "feasts they would swill usquebaugh by the quart." Their horses were excellent though small; indeed, every animal was smaller than in England, except the men and greyhounds. The people were well

favoured, clear skinned, and tall, but in their persons filthy; they were hospitable, frank, hasty, slothful, yet patient of toil, fond of war, great almsgivers, in their lives either strictly religious or very loose. The English Irish followed the fashions of English dress, preferring red and yellow colours. The Irish near the Pale had imbibed somewhat of the same taste, but the women wore a head-dress of linen resembling a turban. By the Irish the mantle was universally worn; beneath which a linen shirt, containing as much as thirty yards of linen, with very loose hanging sleeves, plaited in wrinkles, and stained with saffron, "for avoiding of that evil which cometh "by much sweating, and long wearing of linen;" these were rarely taken off till worn out. Campion however, speaking probably of the people bordering on the Pale, says, "they have left off their saffron, and "wash their shirts four or five times a year." Breeches and stockings in one, generally of red or some bright colour, completed their costume. In some parts the under garments appear to have been dispensed with in summer. Fynes Moryson relates that a Bohemian baron, travelling from Scotland through the north parts of the wild Irish, coming to the house of O'Cane, was received at the door by sixteen women, all naked except their mantles, "whereof eight or ten were "very fair, and two seemed very nymphs;" which sight so dazzled his eyes, that they were forced to lead him into the house, when the hospitable O'Cane, thinking his clothes must be a burthen to him, desired

him to take them off, and sit down by the fire with that naked company.[1] Moryson of his own experience says, that "it would turn a man's stomach to see an "old woman in the morning before breakfast." The women ornamented their persons, the men affected a fierce appearance; besides thick beards and whiskers, they wore a long curled bush of hair, called a *glibbe*, on their foreheads, which hung down over their eyes. They slept in a circle, men and women, with their feet to the fire, and their upper parts and heads wrapped in their mantles, which had been previously steeped in water. Their arms were bows and arrows, darts, swords, and occasionally matchlocks; the Scots and Northern Irish had long and broad shields made of wicker-work; the people of the South and West used round targets covered with leather; others wrapt their mantles round their left arm in fight, to which they advanced without order, clashing their swords, and running upon their enemy.

Every offence was redeemable by an eric or fine; the heaviest was that paid to a son for the murder of his father, and amounted to twenty-one head of cattle. When Sir William Fitz-William informed Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, that he was going to send a sheriff into his country to maintain peace and order, Maguire replied, "Your sheriff shall be welcome "to me, but let me know his eric, that if any of my

[1] Leland, in his History of Ireland, throws discredit on this story, observing that the climate must always have enforced some clothing, and that the old Irish laws appear, by the fragments then existing, to have regulated the prices of dress for all orders and degrees.

" people put him to death, I may know what fine to " levy."

The principal rebels of Ulster were the O'Neils, and no sept of Ireland hated the English more heartily, although weakness and policy had compelled them to accept even honours from the King of England. O'Neil once hanged one of his soldiers for eating English biscuit. Con O'Neil, surnamed Bacco, or the Lame, was created by Henry VIII. Earl of Tyrone, and his reputed son Matthew[1], Baron of Dungannon. Shane O'Neil, the second son, murdered Matthew, and after his father's death took the title of the O'Neil, though Matthew had left sons. Aspiring to be called King of Ulster, he gradually became more insolent, trained the people to arms, and in 1565, having 1000 horsemen and 4000 footmen ready for the field, broke out into open rebellion. In 1567 he entered the English Pale, was repulsed with great loss, and, forsaken by his allies, sought assistance from the Scots, who murdered him to avenge the death of two of their countrymen. The leaders of Ulster submitted nominally; but, however they might quarrel among themselves, they had a common point of union in their hatred of England. At the time the Earl of Essex went to Ulster, Hugh, Baron of Dungannon, son of the murdered Matthew, was a loyal

[1] By the Irish law, any woman misliking her husband, and departing from him, might declare any of the children born of her body during their cohabitation to be gotten by any other man, which man should have such child. Matthew, until fifteen years of age, was reputed the son of O'Kelly the smith, at Dundalk, when his mother gave him in this manner to O'Neil.

subject. Tirlogh Lenoghe at this time aspired to be the O'Neil.

In the spring of 1573, Essex made a formal offer of his services to the Queen. The paper, with Lord Burghley's autograph notes in the margin, is in the State Paper Office, as well as the agreement which was concluded on the 8th July, by which the Queen granted to the Earl the moiety of the country of Clandeboye[1], in consideration of the surrender of his title to 800 marks land which he claimed under the will of the Earl of March.[2] He was to set out before Michaelmas, with 200 horse and 400 foot, which numbers he was to maintain at his own cost for two years, the Queen keeping an equal number: after two years he was to maintain the same number as the Queen, not to exceed 600. All fortifications to be at equal charge between them. The Earl was to have timber out of Killulto Woods, was to pay no customs, and have free transport of arms, money, and all necessaries, for seven years.

[1] Clandeboye, or Clanhughboy, comprised the whole of the county of Antrim, excepting the district between Dunluce and the Bann, called the Rowte; and the mountainous district in the N.E. from Glenarm to Ballycastle, called the Glynnes.

[2] The history of this 800 marks land was as follows:—Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, bequeathed these lands to Isabel, daughter of his sister Anne, by Richard, Earl of Cambridge. Isabel married Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex. Edward IV., in the first year of his reign, granted to the Earl of Essex, in lieu of the above lands, certain forfeited lands of the Earl of Ormonde. During the minority of their grandson, Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, temp. Henry VII., the Earl of Ormonde was restored to all his lands; and, the Crown retaining possession of the bequest of Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of Essex, who was heir to the Bourchiers, claimed it.

Old Fuller might well exclaim, "to maintain an "army, though a very little one, is a Sovereign's and "no subject's work, too heavy for the support of any "private man's estate; which cost this Earl first the "mortgaging, then the selling outright, his fair in-"heritance in Essex."

The most remarkable part of the transaction is yet to be related. Not possessing funds sufficient for the large expenses preliminary to so great an undertaking, it became necessary for Essex to borrow 10,000*l.*, and who should be the money-lender but the Queen herself! A real Jew's bargain was made for her; ten per cent. interest, with forfeiture for non-punctuality of payment; while he was to be at equal charge with her in building fortifications and garrisons, from which he would certainly not reap equal advantage; and, after all, we shall find her suffering him to be thwarted by every underling who desired to gain favour with the Leicester faction.

The following is an abstract of this curious instrument: — "The Earl of Essex hath assured, by "bargain and sale, and with fine, to the Lord Trea-"surer, Sir W. Mildmay, the Attorney and Solicitor "Generals, to the use of our Sovereign Lady, the "Queen, manors, lands, and tenements, to the yearly "value of 500*l.*, in pawn for 10,000*l.*, that her "Majesty lent him for three years.

"The said Earl must pay 1000*l.* at the 1st day of "August 1574, for the interest of the said money for "a year, and if he make default of payment thereof, "then the Queen's Majesty must have a manor of "50*l.* by year, parcel of said 500*l.*

"And if the Earl pay not the 10,000*l.* then, for "the second year, the Earl must pay upon the 1st "day of August, 1575, another 1000*l.*, or else Her "Majesty to have another manor of 50*l.* by year, "parcel of said 500*l.* land.

"And if the Earl pay not the 10,000*l.* before the "1st day of August, 1576, being the third year, "then the Queen's Majesty must have the whole "500*l.* land.

"The said Earl standeth bound to Her Majesty in "bond of 10,000*l.* for the performance of the mort-"gage aforesaid, and the same extendable to all his "lands."[1]

The following is a note of the lands mortgaged by the Earl of Essex to the Queen, and their yearly value:—

	£	s.
"Bucks:		
The manor of Newington, „ Clifton, „ Brirfield - - -	62	0
"Essex:		
The manor of Tolleshunte Bourchier - -	50	0
„ Potting and Russhely - -	50	0
„ Old Hall and Bourchier's Hall in Tollesbury - -	66	13
„ Tollesbury Wood, called Bourchier's Park - -	20	0
„ Hallingbury Bourchier - -	73	0
„ Swaynes in Wivenho - -	8	0
„ Bakers in Goldanger - -	12	0

[1] S. P. O.

" Pembroke:	£	s.
The Lordship and manor of Monkton - -	120	0
" Burton - -	20	16
" Langorne - -	23	9
	£505	18

The manor assessed by the deed to be forfeit the first year is that of Potting and Russhely; the second year, Tolleshunte Bourchier.[1]

It had been at first intended that Essex should hold a commission from the Queen as Captain-general of Ulster; but Sir William Fitz-William[2], the Lord Deputy of Ireland, jealous of the rank and reputation of the Earl, and dreading to be eclipsed by him, made such earnest remonstrances, entreating the Queen that she would maintain him in the full power of his office; and was so well backed by Leicester, who, though desirous to remove Essex, was not at all anxious to give him a bed of roses to repose on, that Elizabeth was prevailed on to consent that the Earl should receive his commission as Governor of Ulster from the Lord Deputy. Unsatisfactory as this was to Essex, and injurious as it proved to the service, his zeal and anxiety to set out were nothing abated. Two letters of his to Lord Burghley, of the 22nd June and 20th July, show how earnest he was to proceed; and how much he depended on the friendship of the Treasurer to protect him from his enemies; and, in

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Eldest son and heir of Sir William Fitz-William of Milton, Northamptonshire; he served upwards of thirty years in Ireland.

the last, all difficulties at length conquered, he gives Burghley an account of his farewell audience on the 19th July.

No. II.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

May it please your L. I have passed the assurance of 500*l.* lands to the Queen's Majesty, after such sort as H. M. counsel hath devised, as shall appear unto you by Mr. Attorney's certificate: I shall now desire your L. to send your warrant to Sir Thomas Gresham for delivery of the money unto me. My Lord Chamberlain[2] told me yesterday, that he had sent unto your L. the articles touching the commission for the government of the country for a time, and of those I carry with me. I pray your L., after you have considered of them, to direct your warrant for the making of the commission. If your L. do not come shortly unto the court, I shall desire you to write to my L. Chamberlain and my Lord of Leicester, to further my despatch. I have very great business to do in the country after I have done here; and therefore would I be gladly despatched hence: I mean not to tarry long after my patent and commission are sealed. I hear that your L. rides to your house at Burghley; I desire that I may know the time of your return to the court, or to your house at Theobalds; if your L. do not return before the last of this month, I will then wait upon you at Burghley. I do, my Lord, make my reckoning of your L. to be my assured pillar; and if I did not hope that, assuredly I would not have taken the journey in hand, if the Queen had given me the 10,000*l.* she lent me: I look

[1] Harl. MSS. 6991. f. 22.

[2] The Earl of Sussex.

for to find enemies enough to this enterprise, and I feel of some of them already. I pray your L. that you will, when your leisure will serve you, set down what course you think best for me to take for the order of those people I carry with me, and find there. As I do only repose my trust upon you, so will I only be directed by you. When your L. writes to my Lord Deputy of Ireland, I pray you that you will desire his favour and furtherance to me in this enterprise. He shall find me as ready to do any service there to Her Majesty underneath him, and to get any honor unto him, as he shall find any man: he is a gentleman whom I have ever loved, and liked well of. And I have good hope I shall find him my friend; and yet some suspicion have I had of late of it, by reason of some speech that hath passed from his near friends.

Thus resting ever at your L. commandment, I shall commit you to the Lord. From Durham Place, this 22nd June, 1573.

At your L. commandment,
W. ESSEX.

No. III.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

May it please your L. Yesterday I was at the Court, and did take my leave of Her Majesty. She hath signed all my books, and I am departed from Her Majesty with very good words, and promise of her favour and furtherance to this enterprise. Upon the taking of my leave, she told me that she had two special things to advise me of: the one was, that I should have consideration of the Irish there, which she thought had become her disobedient subjects rather because

[1] Harl. MSS. 6991. f. 23.

they had not been defended from the force of the Scots, than for any other cause. Her Majesty's opinion was, that, upon my coming, they would yield themselves good subjects, and therefore wished them to be well used. To this, my L., I answered, that I determined to deal so with them as I found best for her service when I came there, and for the present I could not say what is best to be done. But this Her Majesty should be sure of, that I would not imbrue my hands with more blood than the necessity of the cause requireth. The other special matter was, that I should not seek too hastily to bring people that have been trained in another religion, from that which they have been brought up in. To this I answered, that for the present I thought it was best to learn them to know their allegiance to Her Majesty, and to yield her their due obedience, and after they had learned that, they would be easily brought to be of good religion. Much more speeches beside passed between Her Majesty and me, which were of no great importance, and therefore I write them not to your L. I did once or twice move your L. for my cousin Edward Fitzgarrett going over with me; I think it will stand me in great stead; I beseech your L. to procure him Her Majesty's licence, and that with as much speed as your L. conveniently may. I am, my L., departed from the Court with many good and fair promises; but of the performance of them, I know not what assurance I may make. I repose my only trust upon your L. Your honourable dealing with me, both in this and at all times before, hath been such as hath bound me ever to be at your L. commandment.

And so I rest, and humbly take my leave of your Lordship, at Durham House, this 20th July, 1573.

At your L. commandment,

W. ESSEX.

Lords Rich[1] and Darcy[2], and many knights and gentlemen, with a large number of followers, accompanied the Earl of Essex as volunteers. They embarked at Liverpool on the 16th August, 1573, with a fair wind and promise of a favourable passage, which soon changed; heavy gales followed, the fleet was dispersed and shattered; and, after undergoing considerable danger, the vessel which bore the Earl of Essex fetched Copeman's Island, near the mouth of Belfast Lough, whence he reached Knockfergus in safety. Lord Rich landed at Castle Kilcliffe, whence he was conducted by Captain Malbie with a guard to Inch Abbey, and thence to Knockfergus. The rest of the company were scattered along the coast, some, as Essex was informed, being driven to Cork. We have the second letter written by him after his landing; that which related the dangers of his passage is unfortunately lost. The profession of loyalty by Brian Mac Phelim was but a ruse to gain time, that he might understand what force came over with Essex, and submit if he found it overwhelming: the unlucky gale which dispersed the fleet encouraged him to revolt again.

[1] Lord Rich was son to Lord Chancellor Rich, who obtained a grant of the lands of the dissolved priory of Lees in Essex, of great extent and value.

[2] Son to the Lord Darcy, who was beheaded, 30 Henry VIII., on suspicion of traitorously surrendering the castle of Pomfret to the people of Yorkshire, during the insurrection called the "Pilgrimage of Grace." He was restored in blood, 2 Edward VI.

No. IV.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

It may please your Lordship. Upon my first arrival here, I wrote unto you by Mr. Russell of the manner of my passage, and the small company that arrived here with me; since which time hearing nothing of the rest of my ships, but that they are dispersed, some to the Isle of Man, some to Cork (as I am informed), I could not, for want of victuals and horsemen, make my journey against the rebels. Notwithstanding I made countenance of a road unto the Bann, proclaiming first the cause of my coming to be grounded on Her Majesty's commiseration of the natural born subjects of this province, over whom the Scots did tyrannise; and therefore had sent me, and the army under my leading, to expel those foreigners, and to defend such of the country as had disposition to live dutifully under Her Highness's obedience. Not long after this was known among the people, Sir Brian M'Phelim sent messengers unto me with a letter, declaring that, though he had never seen me, yet had he heard, not only of the force wherewith I was arrived, but also of such as should come after, and therefore desired to know with what conditions I would receive him, if he should return to Her Majesty's service. I answered that I came not to indent or condition with any; but if he did simply submit himself to Her Majesty's mercy, he might be the first to whom I would extend Her Majesty's clemency, and that I would measure it according to the order of his coming in; whereupon the next day he desired to speak with Captain Pierce; who being licensed to go unto him, the same night Sir Brian came in with Mr. Pierce, and, in the most public part of the house, did on his knees make his submission, alleging little

[1] S. P. O.

for himself, but some unkindness towards Mr. Smith; but the sum of his speech was to desire that his former offence might not be imputed unto him, but that his service hereafter might recompense his fault passed: where, when I had somewhat aggravated, to make Her Majesty's mercy the greater, took him my hand, as a sign of his restitution to Her Highness' service; with promise to commend any desert of his hereafter. Since which time I sent as far as the Rowte[1], to bring his create[2] down into the plain near this town, guarding them with those few horses I had here, till they were out of all danger; where now the cattle remain as the only pledge I seek for of him. Since the time of his submission, he seemeth very desirous to draw blood upon the Scots, and offereth to bewray divers that have practised with him for his maintenance in rebellion; the plan whereof he saith he will show me, wherein if I find any substance, I will by my next letter write the same unto your L. In the mean time both he and his followers seem to be greatly comforted with some orders sent down here by me, for the restraining of the army from extort dealing with the Irishry, or from works of injury; and for that I do not only suffer them to reap their corn quietly, but also have given them all the Scots' harvest, restraining some horsemeat upon a price. This, and the ready payment which I use for all that I take, hath begun some mutual liking between them and us, whereby, without loss or danger, men may travel already almost as far as the Bann, and the other way through the Ardes[3] unto the English Pale[4], in effect. So that by this beginning I gather,

[1] The Rowte, the north-west part of Antrim, from Dunluce to the Bann.

[2] Create or creaht, a herd of cattle.

[3] The Ardes, the north and east part of the county of Down, bounded on the west by Strangford Lough.

[4] That part of Ireland, near Dublin, where the king's writ was obeyed, was called the English Pale. In Edward the Fourth's time, the four counties, of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth, only were included; the

that when all the rest of my company shall arrive and furnish my wants, specially of bread, that I may keep the field. I trust to yield to Her Majesty and your L. a reasonable reckoning of this county, without more blood to be drawn upon this nation. I was informed that Tirlogh Lenoghe [1] and the Scots under Sorley boy had combined together and bound themselves with an oath to maintain the war; and therefore, after the receiving of Sir Brian, I wrote unto Tirlogh a letter (the copy whereof I send your L. enclosed), whereof he hath not yet returned any answer.

This day the Marshal, Mr. Bagnall, who had been here to visit me, departed from me, and M'Gennis with him in company. To-morrow I look for the Captain of Killulto and Mac Gillaspicke, the blind Scot's son, who lie in the woods of Killulto, and offer themselves as Sir Brian did, to serve her (Majesty). The Scots being a natural enemy to those under Tirlogh, I have also, immediately upon my landing, sent a ship and a pinnace well appointed, to coast betwixt this and Lough Foyle, and will send more to that service, as soon as the wind shall send them hither.

In the meantime I trust your L. will accept of this course I have begun: which, if it be not in all points allowable in your L. judgment, may be hereafter bettered by your L. good directions, which I will both hearken for, and willingly follow, and will spare no travail of my body to bring your desires to effect. And so praying God to prosper Her Majesty's service, I humbly take my leave; at Knockfergus, the 10th Sept. 1573.

Your L. most humble at commandment,

W. ESSEX.

Pale subsequently extended from Dundalk to Carlow and Kilkenny, but had again become straitened in Elizabeth's time.

[1] Tirlogh Lenoghe, Tirrelagh Leneragh, (*Angl.* Terence O'Neil); a powerful chief of that sept, and the principal upholder of rebellion in the north. He was either son or nephew of Con Bacco, or the Lame, who cursed his posterity, should they learn English, sow corn, or build houses.

I have great cause to commend unto your L. the service of Mr. Pierce and Mr. Malbie, whom I have used as my only instruments: the one discovering the practices of the rebels; the other hath relieved us with beeves, and brought both horsemen and kerne to such purposes as I have appointed: whereof, in time convenient, I should be glad your L. should take knowledge. As I had written thus much, the blind Scots' son of whom I spake is come in, and simply submitted himself according to his promise.

Oaths are but words, and words are but wind; so thought the Irish leaders, who had come in, and sworn allegiance to Elizabeth, when they feared the power of Essex might overwhelm them. Very few days sufficed to show his weakness, and they took immediate advantage of it. The English force was 600 foot, 200 horse, 100 labourers, and about 400 adventurers, all new to the country and its inhabitants; certainly not in numbers or experience calculated to strike much terror into the wild denizens of the bogs and forests of Ulster.

No. V.[1]

Essex to the Lords of the Privy Council.

It may please your LL. Since the writing of my last letter, some alteration is happened in these parts, for that Brian Mᶜ Phelim, contrary to my opinion of him, is again revolted, and joined himself to the Scots and Tirlogh Lenoghe; and although, in respect of my care to defend and cherish such part of the people as might be reduced to H. M. obedience, I am sorry for this revolt, which bewrayeth their settled determination to continue in disorder, yet, in respect

[1] S. P. O.

of mine own surety and quiet enjoying of this country, I am glad that this is happened; since it groweth without breach of my word, or misuse of any of them by those of the army; for now I have no occasion to trust the Irish, whereby I might have been more abused, than by open force I shall. Nevertheless, considering that their cattle was in the plains next this town, I will not excuse a manifest negligence, appearing in me, but to be found in others. Upon the discharge of Captain Pierce from his office of constable here, and the coming in of Sir Brian, which were both at one instant, I gave him some horsemen in entertainment, requiring none other service of them but that they should continually scout upon the cattle, and remain in the create, which they did till the day before the cattle was driven away. The same day I heard some secret speech that Brian would away; whereupon I sent Pierce with 100 horsemen to bring the cattle next me; he went, and meeting his men by the way, returned unto me with all the horsemen, and told me that all was fast, and that 10,000 kine were hard by, going to the place where I had appointed: and required me not to fear, for he had left his horsemen among them, who would give me twelve hours warning if any evil were intended. I took this not without misliking for an excuse, being then late in the night, the rather because I knew that his wife's brother was out on the scout. The same night began Brian to drive his cattle, as it would seem, whereof I had no warning till next day at three of the clock in the afternoon, at which time, one of Brian's own men ran unto me, who brought his wife, children, and goods to this town, and declared his master's escape. I went immediately to horse, and followed upon the spur fourteen miles, till the night came upon me, and by the way met some of the scouts, to whom Brian had given kine to hide his intent from me, as I take it. But in the mean time the cattle was entered the

wood, and in this sort escaped. By examination since it falleth out, that divers of the town were also privy to his departure, all which I have imprisoned, but have no power to execute any. Pierce excuseth himself by his men, but between his negligent execution of my commandment and their treason, this error is committed. Since the departure of Brian divers of his people have forsaken him, and have driven away their cattle from him, and seek to me to be received again. And now, if it please your LL. to consider, I construe all this to fall out to the best, for as the rebels shall not be able to keep their cattle or themselves from the danger of the army, so in the manner of their departure, and breach of their faiths, they have given me just cause to govern such as shall inhabit with us in the most severe manner, which I could not without evil opinions have offered if their revolt had not been manifest. My first actions shewed nothing but lenity, plainness, and an equal care of both nations; my next shall shew more severity of justice abroad, and less trust at home. And so hoping this chance shall not alter your opinion of me, I take my leave at Knockfergus, the 29th Sept. 1573.

At your LL. commandment,

W. ESSEX.

The provisions of the English began to run short; their biscuit was consumed, the country did not afford bread, and no tidings arrived of the fleet of provisions which was ready laden in the beginning of August, at a cost to the Earl of nearly 3000*l.*

Letters from Spain having given the Irish reason to hope for assistance from that country, they became emboldened to try their fortune in occasional skirmishes. The next letter of the Earl gives us a good

idea of the manner in which warfare was carried on by the Irish.

No. VI.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

It may please your Lordship. Since the writing of my last letters, I have most attended the provisions for the wintering of the soldiers; and finding many wants, especially of beeves, I made provision of 1000, which I have here in readiness to be salted; and hearing upon Saturday night last that Brian Mc Phelim had gathered his company to come towards me, and that a great part of his cattle were come into the plains, I rode forth about ten of the clock, with 300 horse, and appointed 400 footmen to meet me near Massareen. The night was extreme dark by means of foul weather, whereby the guide led me very near the woods; so at the first coming out of the cattle, part of my company were discovered; whereupon one troop of my horsemen, under the Baron of Dungannon[2], broke the foray; and another troop, under my cousin Wm. Norreys[3], being near to some thin bushes, brake into the same, and then finding some resistance, did slay to the number of 40 of all sorts, and drave out of the pass 400 kine, which I brought to this town: of my company none were hurt, only my cousin Wm. Norreys, who is captain of my band of 100 horsemen, had his horse wounded

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Hugh O'Neil, Baron of Dungannon, son of Matthew, the reputed son of Con Bacco: he was preserved by the English from Shane, who murdered his father: he lived much in England, and was now supported against Tirlogh, who claimed to be the O'Neil: he was created Earl of Tyrone in 1587, and was subsequently known as the "arch-rebel."

[3] William, eldest son of Henry, Lord Norreys of Ricot, Oxon.; afterwards Marshal of Berwick; died in Ireland in his father's lifetime. There were six brothers of this distinguished family, only one of whom survived his parents.

under him, and was stricken from his horse, but rescued and horsed again by his brother, John Norreys[1], and other gentlemen; but first, with his own hand, he slew him that hurt his horse, and behaved himself very valiantly. But if I had been well guided, or if my footmen had been come unto me, who then were three miles from me, I had taken 10,000 of his kine, and caught Brian and his company at great advantage.

The same day at my coming home I received letters from Mr. Moore the pensioner, and from a brother at Mr. Secretary's[2], that his son, Thomas Smith, had been slain in the Ardes that afternoon; which, as I have since learned, was by the revoltings of certain Irishmen of his own household, to whom he overmuch trusted, whereof one being retained by a rebel, Brian ertò O'Neill, did kill him with a shot, and was stricken in the head; his men finding his house scant guardable, have sent unto me for a band of horsemen to convey them to Mr. Moore's at Hollywood, which this day I have sent unto them: and because some of Mr. Secretary's kinsmen, and one of his brothers, who beheld this misfortune, do now repair unto him, and can better testify the circumstance of his death, I refer to them the report thereof, being sorry of the mishap, which has given the Irishmen great cause of rejoicing.

I have placed for this winter at Belfast a garrison of 100 footmen and 100 horsemen, and 400 kerne[3], which I have

[1] Second son of Henry Lord Norreys, died unmarried, 1597: he was Lord President of Munster, in which office he was succeeded by his brother, Sir Thomas Norreys.

[2] Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State, had a grant in the Ardes, where his son was murdered.

[3] Kerne, a kind of footmen, slightly armed with a sword and target of wood, or a bow and sheaf of arrows with barbed heads; or else three darts, which they cast with a wonderful facility and nearness: within these few years they have practised the musket and callyver, and are grown good and ready shots. The Irish horsemen are armed with head-

now given order to be levied by the Baron of Dungannon, whom I find very forward in service, and is the only man of Ulster that is, in my opinion, meet to be trusted and used. The 200 kerne I lately entertained under Thomas Flemynge, after being in pay six weeks, the first day they should have done any service revolted from their captain, and, upon the sudden, became followers to Brian, and turned their weapons against mine own company, and besieged Mr. Edward Moore of Millifant, in Renhady, a castle in the Dufferin[1], coming hither to visit me, toward whom I was driven to send three bands of footmen under the serjeant-major for his rescue; which knowing, they left the place, and made him way to come hither to me.

I will not trouble your L. at this time with any other matters, because within six days, if the wind serves, I purpose to despatch Edward Waterhouse to your L. fully instructed with the whole estate of the country, the army, and my opinions for the proceeding herein. And in the mean season, I humbly take my leave; at Knockfergus, the 20th Oct. 1573.

At your L. commandment,

W. ESSEX.

It appears that Waterhouse, who was despatched on the 2nd November, was commissioned to inform Burghley that the adventurers or volunteers were becoming dissatisfied, and seeking means to leave

pieces, shirts of mail, a sword, a skeine, and a spear. They ride on pads without stirrups. In joining battle, they do not bear their lance under arm, and so put it to the rest, but, taking it by the middle, bear it above the arm, and so encounter. Every horseman hath two or three horses, and every horse a knave; the horse of service is always led spare, and the knave who carrieth his harness and spear rideth upon the other. (Dimmock's Treatise of Ireland. Harl. MS. 1291.)

[1] The Dufferin, a barony of the county Down, lying on the west side of Strangford Lough.

the service, which entailed hardships they were unwilling to endure. Lord Rich very early set the example of desertion, promising to return in the spring, which, however, he never did, and probably never intended. The Lord Deputy delayed sending Essex his commission, and so encouraged a rumour which got about, that the expedition was entirely a private one of the Earl's; which made the Irish resolve to tire him out, as they could easily do, by never quitting their fastnesses except on some advantage. He complained also, that the adventurers, not satisfied with deserting him, endeavoured, on their return home, to deter others from joining him. He, therefore, thought it would be necessary to alter his agreement with the Queen, and make the whole service hers, although he should continue to bear his moiety of the expense. Whether to strengthen his alliance with Burghley, or only in furtherance of former plans, we know not, but Waterhouse was likewise charged with the following letter.

No. VII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—Because I have ever found in your Lordship such love and favour towards me, as I cannot any where fully requite, I have therefore resolved to make you the offer of the most sufficient pledge of my good will; namely, the direction, education, and marriage of mine eldest son, whom if you can like to match with your daughter, I will presently assure him 2000 marks by the year in

[1] Lansd. MSS. 17. 23.

England, besides my houses, domaines, and parks; I will give to your L. 100*l.* or 200 marks by year for his education; I will assure your daughter 500*l.* by year in jointure; and, upon marriage, depart with a convenient portion for their maintenance during my life: if at years of discretion the match shall not go forward, I will give to the gentlewoman to her marriage 2000*l.* And thus much in behalf of my son; from myself you shall most assuredly look and ever find as firm, as constant friendship, as your L. shall receive by any other alliance in England, to all which points I gage mine honour and faith, and have testified the like to the bearer, to be uttered to your L.: as I do now also confirm it with my hand and seal. There is equality sufficient in their years, and no great distance in neighbourhood between Theobalds and Bennington. Such an occasion might make me like well of my lands in Essex, where, if God send me life, I might hereafter shew all offices of friendship to the good Countess, your daughter[1], of whose match I doubt not but that your L. shall in the end receive singular comfort. Your L. seeth how open and plain I am; use me as it shall please you, and with my most hearty commendations to my Lady, I take my leave at Knockfergus, the 1 Nov. 1573.

At your L. commandment,
W. ESSEX.

Such a proposal could not have been otherwise than gratifying to the "son of the Lincolnshire squire," whatever might have been his answer to it; no other mention of the offer, or reason for its not being carried out, appears in any correspondence to which I have had access.

Waterhouse was likewise the bearer of a letter to

[1] Anne, daughter of Lord Burghley, was the first wife of Edward Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. She died 1588, leaving issue three daughters.

the Queen, and a paper of instructions, by which he was enabled to communicate the views and wishes of Essex in a less tedious and more satisfactory manner than could be done by writing.

No. VIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

It may please your excellent Majesty. I have forborne, since my arrival in this land, to trouble you with my letters, because I was not without hope to have broken my silence with such advertisements as might have been grateful to your Majesty, whereof, in the beginning of my footing here, I had great appearance, by the submissions of the Irish, as I have heretofore written to the Lords of your Majesty's Privy Council. And like as it was no small comfort and encouragement unto me to hear both by their LL. reports, and by the letters which I received from my private friends, that your Majesty had liking of the course wherewith I began, which in very deed was according to your own directions, and with the mildness that might both have allured, and thoroughly won, any nation well affected to your Majesty's obedience; yet since this people, by good sufferance, to increase their own plague, have refused your Majesty's mercies, and taken upon them wilful war and rebellion, I trust to be the instrument, under your Majesty, to punish their breach of faith, and to compel the most obstinate of them to confess the greatness of your Highness and your sovereignty here: wherein I find no manner of difficulty, but that it may be wrought in such time as your Majesty shall not be worried with long expense upon and about this war. Nevertheless, two great disadvantages I find in this little time of my continuance here. The first

[1] S. P. O.

by the adventurers, of whom the most part, having not forgotten the delicacies of England, and wanting resolute minds to endure the travail of a year or two in this waste country, have forsaken me, feigning excuses to repair home, where I hear they give forth speeches in dislike of the enterprise to the discouragement of others. The second, that the common hired soldiers, both horsemen and footmen, mislike of their pay, and allege that they were not pressed by commission but by persuasion, and, therefore, ought not to be detained in this service longer than they like to stay. This is not hidden from the Irish, who also are fully persuaded that this war is altogether mine; alleging, that if it were your Majesty's, it should be executed by the Lord Deputy, being your chief General here; and, therefore, thinking that I must be in short time worried with the charge, have confederated to stand in arms, which they would never do with your Majesty unless it were in respect of me; whereby I must acknowledge the weakness of myself, and so, consequently, of any subject that shall attempt any great service, and therein part with his Prince either honor or profit. Therefore my humble petition is, that, albeit the moiety of the charge be mine, according to my covenant with your Majesty, that yet some means may be devised that all the officers, soldiers, and dealers in this war may seem to be your Majesty's; the war yours, and the reformation your Majesty's, and I only the instrument and executor of this service; whereby all men shall either put on better contentations and new courages, or else I with better warrant may punish the mutiny, and the base ignobility of the soldiers' minds.

I have great cause to commend unto your Majesty the service of Will. and John Norreys, of whom the older hath had two horses slain under him; Michael and John Cary, and Will. Morgan of Penycoid, now Marshal by the

departure of Sir Peter Carew, surely a very worthy gentleman; and so be the rest, deserving more praise than I can lay upon them. They have been in all journies, and are not weary of any labor that the service yieldeth; but, above all others, in respect of his conduct and experience of this country, I humbly thank your Majesty for the Serjeant Major Thos. Willford, that it hath pleased you to spare him from his charge at home: he is a man that of all others may not be missed here, and I would England could yield your Majesty many such.

And whereas my brother Henry Knollys, compelled by sickness, is now persuaded by me to pass into England for the recovery of his health, meaning to return in the spring; he hath shewed himself here very forward and discreet in all his doing, having escaped very narrowly to have been slain with a shot. If it may please your Majesty to take knowledge of his good desert from me, and to give him some comfortable speeches, it shall encourage others to deserve as he hath done, and be a good means to give a speedy remedy to his sickness, conceived long since, as many think, upon doubt of your Majesty's ill opinion. And so having now particularly written of all things here to the LL. of your Majesty's Privy Council, I humbly take my leave, praying God to prosper your Majesty a long and happy reign. At Knockfergus, this 2d Nov. 1573.

Your Majesty's most humble and bounden servant,

W. ESSEX.

Waterhouse's instructions enumerate all the difficulties of the Earl's position, give an account of the state of Ulster, and his views for the settlement of the country. The encouragement from Spain, and the belief that the reformation of Ulster was not undertaken by the Queen, being first noticed, Essex states

that his force is much diminished by the desertion of so many adventurers; the soldiers are so discontented that they resort to all kinds of expedients to disable themselves from service, preferring to be punished for mutiny rather than "stand so great travail "with so apparent loss;" that the Baron of Dungannon was the only loyal chief; but that his loyalty might be accounted for by the fact of Tirlogh Lenoghe having usurped the title of O'Neil, which the Baron claimed, the said Tirlogh being the most active and enterprising among the rebels, and the most determined enemy of the Queen. He desires a reinforcement, and that the whole service may be reckoned the Queen's; proposes to found the principal town at Belfast, in preference to Knockfergus, and recommends that an engineer should be sent to fortify it, and to build a bridge over the Laggan, and another over the Bann, which would enable the troops to cross those waters in the winter, and command the country between Strangford and Lough Foyle.[1]

These instructions, however, did not contain the pith of his grievances, which he imparted to Burghley in another[2] letter of the same date. It appears certain that Sir William Fitz-William, in his jealousy of Essex, had encouraged, if not authorised, reports extremely injurious to the authority of that nobleman; and continued to withhold his commission. There can be no doubt he was supported by a powerful faction at home, or he would not have ventured to do so. Essex

[1] Essex also proposed to build walled towns at Coleraine and Massareen.
[2] S. P. O.

offers to Burghley to surrender his patent, to serve himself and maintain 100 horse without pay from the Queen: if the Queen does not choose that course, then it was necessary he should be well supported both at home and in Ireland. And he proceeds, "though "I know my Lord Deputy to be your friend, and that "I have no cause to judge him mine enemy, yet I "must note to your L. with some grief, that I have "good proof, since Brian's revolting, he could be "contented to hear me ill spoken of openly in his "chamber by his own servants, and he to shew coun- "tenance, as though he took pleasure in his man's "words. Besides, I was not so soon landed, but he "withdrew all the Queen's forces from the Newry. "These and some other obstructions gave me cause "to doubt that my L. will either give me the "looking on as careless; or else that he can be con- "tented to sit in his chair and smile; and because "I see farther that all the Irish messengers of "Ulster are daily with his L., and I no way made "privy to their petitions, or causes of their coming "thither: I conclude, that underhand many things "may pass to my disadvantage, for already, what- "soever I require at any Irishman's hands, he ap- "pealeth to the Lord Deputy."

CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF WALTER, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

ILL-WILL OF THE LORD DEPUTY TOWARDS ESSEX. — THE EARL'S DISINTERESTED CONDUCT. — PLANS AN EXPEDITION AGAINST TIRLOGH LENOGHE. — THWARTED BY THE DEPUTY. — HIS LETTER TO BURGHLEY, SUSSEX, AND LEICESTER, AND THE QUEEN'S REPLY. — DISCONTENT OF ESSEX AT THE IDEA OF BEING RECALLED. — HE REMONSTRATES. — BRIAN MAC PHELIM MAKES HUMBLE SUBMISSION FOR THE SECOND TIME. — ESSEX SENT TO WATERFORD TO ENDEAVOUR TO WIN THE EARL OF DESMOND TO LOYALTY. — HIS LETTER RECOUNTING HIS PROCEEDINGS. — GRACIOUS LETTER FROM THE QUEEN. — LETTER TO BURGHLEY POINTING OUT THE INJURY INCURRED BY THE DELAY IN SENDING OVER A NEW GOVERNOR. — HIS LETTER OF RECONCILIATION TO LEICESTER.

THE ill-will borne by Sir William Fitz-William to Essex and his expedition was not unnatural: he could scarcely be expected to approve of a nobleman of high rank and reputation being sent with an independent command into Ireland. But this ought to have been foreseen and provided against; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, was foreseen, and answered the purpose of those who induced Essex to undertake this ruinous adventure. Nothing can be more honourable than the course proposed by Essex, who, seeing this difficulty, offers to serve under the orders of the Deputy: the more because he feared that there would be no Governor of that realm, "who, while I have this authority in Ulster, will be "a friend to this enterprise; and whoever shall be

"Governor, if he shall not thoroughly countenance it, "he may in one month overthrow all that in a whole "year I shall have achieved."

Soon after this, in consequence of a rumour that large reinforcements were on their way to Ulster, Brian Mac Phelim, Tirlogh Lenoghe, and the other rebels, sent in submissive messages; but Essex was hardly to be taken in again, and did not assure himself of any result, "these northern people being so "false of their word."

His remonstrance on the conduct of the Lord Deputy produced some effect at home, for we find that the Privy Council wrote to Sir W. Fitz-William on the 17th Jan. 1574, enjoining confidence, cordial dealing, and co-operation with Essex, and desiring that his commission should be as full as for any province of Ireland. The conduct of the Deputy had been so highly disapproved by the Queen, that various persons had been considered to replace him, among others Essex himself; but the Leicester faction, although unable to support Fitz-William, were powerful enough to prevent the Earl's appointment. Sir Francis Knollys writes to Burghley, "Her Majesty hath said that in "no wise she will allow my Lord of Essex shall be "Deputy of Ireland, because she would have no man "that hath lands of inheritance there to be Deputy. "And yet all men outwardly do seem to favour my "L. of Essex and his enterprise. But surely I "fear if Her Majesty will neither make him Deputy, "nor yet take the charge of that enterprise into her "own hands, and let my L. of Essex be but an

"adventurer according to his own offer, I fear that "my L. of Essex will be undone to Her Majesty's "great dishonour, and to her danger."[1] Essex desired the appointment of Sir Henry Sidney[2], saying, with a candour and disinterestedness which do him honour, that he would wish no better than to have it himself, but in respect to the Queen's service, it were not amiss if one were chosen who had less acquaintance there. A paper of "reasons that might move "Her Majesty to appoint the Earl of Essex Lord "Deputy of Ireland" ends thus: "How uncorrupt he "is, how painful in watch, in travail, in wet and dry, "in hunger and cold, and how frank of his own purse "in Her Majesty's service I will not speak."[3] Serjeant Major Willford writes to Burghley, "It were the "greatest pity in the world, that so noble and worthy "a man as this Earl should consume himself in this "enterprise, which by Her Majesty's countenance and "no great charges would be so easily brought to "pass.—Well, if Her Majesty did know his noble and "honourable intent, having a body and mind in-"vincible to endure all miseries and extremities, so "well as we do know him, surely she would not "suffer him to quail for half her kingdom of Ireland."[4]

Essex having planned an expedition against the rebels, in concert with the Deputy, who entered into his views with great show of willingness, was

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Only son of Sir William Sidney; he was brought up with Edward VI., married Lady Mary Dudley, daughter of John, Duke of Northumberland, sister of the Earls of Warwick and Leicester; was father of Sir Philip Sidney, and died, 1586, aged 57.

[3] S. P O.

[4] S. P. O.

compelled to give it up, for the reasons which he assigns in a letter of 8th March to Burghley, Sussex, and Leicester jointly, and in which he despairs of being able to perform any service, and desires to be relieved from his charge. Sir W. Fitz-William being called on to justify his conduct, in suffering the expedition to fail, partly through a want of supply of victuals, partly from his not enforcing the services of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Pale, attributes its ill success to lack of good oversight in not preparing victuals, to the journey not having been kept secret, and Tirlogh Lenoghe having consequently escaped with his create. It is more than probable, and of a piece with the rest of his conduct, that the secret escaped through his own connivance.

Essex, unable to effect any thing by force of arms against Tirlogh Lenoghe, shortly after concluded a truce with him on the 16th March, 1574; Tirlogh giving up his son Arthur as a pledge of his performance of the terms.

We give this letter of Essex at length, as it was honoured by a reply from the Queen herself, who had not yet acquired the habit of her later years, of always finding fault with her servants.

No. IX.[1]

Essex to the Right Honourable the very good Lords the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of Leicester.

May it please your LL. Since my last letter sent by Lloyd, there hath been a meeting at Castle Toome,

[1] S. P. O.

between Tirlogh Lenoghe, Brian Mc Phelim, and Sorley boy[1], at the which Brian Mc Phelim hath delivered unto Tirlogh, for pledge, four of his principal followers, for assurance of his continuance in rebellion and cleaving unto him; he hath also (as I hear) enjoined him to find upon his create 500 Scots. I have intelligence by espial from Tirlogh, that he doth determine to entertain upon his own and neighbour's create 1600 Scots, which he prepareth to come over unto him about the middle of April. This doing of his made me to enter into consideration what were best to be done, and upon weighing thereof, finding that Tirlogh was the only head and principal maintainer of all the rebellion in Ulster, I thought it not best to forbear him any longer: I supposed that the sending of some force against him at this present, he being weak, was the likeliest way to bring him to yield, almost to what I would require of him.. And having neither force upon the borders, nor knowing any means to get men to perform the same, I wrote to the Lord Deputy, and made him privy of Tirlogh's dealings: I laid before him a platt of a journey to be made into Tyrone; and my Lord Deputy, and three more of Her Majesty's council here, viz. Mr. Treasurer, Sir Peter Carew, and Mr. Agard, who were only made privy unto it, having considered of my platt, allowed well of it, and said there was much good to be done in that journey; which, when they had allowed of, I told them that I wanted nothing to perform this but force of men, and desired of my Lord Deputy, that if so be he might spare, and could not tell otherwise how to employ those men that were come, I would with those men and those bands which presently lay on the frontiers, undertake to perform the service according to the platt which I had laid. And my Lord, not having occasion as then otherwise to use them, and especially for that he had not any where provision of victuals made for them,

[1] *i. e.* Sorley the younger.

willingly consented that I should have them. I required also that I might have the assistance of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale to this service, which my Lord thought also reason, and for that purpose wrote his letters of request unto them all, to be ready to go with me, not naming whither, with such force of horsemen and footmen as they could make, for a journey of twelve days; and after that I had made for this journey all the best provisions that I could, and looked for that assistance which my Lord both wrote for, and did assure himself of, I am driven to break off that journey for want of force, for that all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, the Lord of Slane only excepted, do all excuse, and in effect do flatly deny to go, upon my Lord's letter. They that are in Ulster of the county of Louth and these parts will not go by their wills, any man of them; they do all generally so extremely cry out of exactions taken of them, as they say they are not able to do the Queen any service, and they think to have greater thanks for denial to go with me, than for their forwardness in this service: they do so often and so openly exclaim and complain unto me, and I not able to redress it, as I am truly weary of myself. I have now, my Lords, declared unto you what I want to have done, which, in the opinion of all men, who have experience of this country, would have proved a journey of great effect.

And because my Lord Chamberlain knoweth the country very well, I have sent your LL. herein enclosed the platt which way I was determined to have entered the country; and after this was liked and agreed upon by the Lord Deputy, and those of the council that were made privy thereunto, if I should write unto your LL. what practices there were to break it off, for fear, as I think, least the journey should take effect, I doubt whether your LL. would believe me. I have as good words as any man can

have, and it were almost a sin (but that I find the contrary) to believe that they were not truly meant: and I am as loth to complain and find fault as any man living can be, but necessity now compelleth me to do it. I could recite unto your LL. a number of ways wherein I am not well used, but I will shew your LL. only one, and that not the greatest. Since it was known that the government of Ulster should be committed unto me, the soldiers which now lie at the Newry and Dundalk, if they have had victuals five days together, they have wanted twenty days, and the victualler hath been commanded (as he hath confessed) that he should make no better provision for them; and this is done, of purpose (as I suppose), to cause the soldiers to forsake the place and to leave the borders to the sport of the rebels, the burthen whereof I know would be laid to me. If so be it, the soldiers at the Newry and Dundalk had not been relieved for this fortnight with fifty barrels of herrings sent from a servant of mine, who bought two barrels of herrings for me at Carlingford, they had all abandoned the place and run away; for in twenty days before they had neither bread, drink, fish, nor flesh, but were forced to beg, and lay their arms, pieces, and garments in gage for to buy them food. There are the 300 which last came over, coming hither now to me, and going with me to a parle to Tirlogh Lenoghe, which he desireth of me, and hath earnestly sued for. There is no provision made for these men, neither yet for 50 horsemen, and 260 footmen which lie there, and the victualler hath unto them delivered but only 30*l.* to make provision for these 600 and odd men; so as they shall no sooner be come thither, but they shall be forced to return again: and the soldiers, because they in their extremity received those herrings from me, do think that the charge of their victualling is mine, and do lay the blame of their wants upon me, and do all fall to

mutiny, and say, that, unless I will see that they shall be better victualled, they will do neither any service, nor yet abide there.

These and other like crossings do make me humbly to desire of your LL. that I may be disburthened of the government of Ulster, and it returned where it was: and I desire not this, for that I fear it would be any hindrance to the service, which I first undertook; for in that respect I know, and all men which do know this country must needs confess, it will be a great furtherance; but I desire it, for that I fear there will be no Governor here that would like that I should have this government; and also, except the garrisons should be double that which I think will be allowed unto me, the borders here are not to be defended; for whereas the Lord Deputy had for the defence thereof the whole Pale, which is able to make above 500 horsemen, besides all the kerne, I have only the county of Louth, which has only 60 horsemen and not one kerne, and this is all the force, which, besides the garrison, I am to trust unto. Therefore, I humbly crave your LL. that I may be disburthened thereof.

I have this present day written unto the Lord Deputy and Council here, the estate of the garrisons, and that for want of victuals they are mutinous, and ready to forsake the place; and have disburthened myself of the blame that may happen unto me by their wants.

I understand that as soon as I shall have parled with O'Neil, he will withdraw away all those men who do now go with me from here, and leave the border open to the spoil of the rebel; and those men he hath no place to employ them in, but for colour he means to send them unto Leix and Offaly, where they shall, as the opinion of all men experimented in the country is, utterly lose time, and do no service; or else will he lay them at Allen to lie still and

do nothing. At the time that I came to Dublin, to ask his advice, I understood, by two or three of the Council, that he was in a great perplexity with himself, for that there were men come over upon his own writing for them, and he knew not any way what to do with them. Good my Lords, bear with this my plain writing touching this matter: it doth both touch the Queen's Majesty's service, and myself so near, as I am of necessity compelled to do it. If you think that I write unto your LL. any other than truth, I dare take for judges thereof all Her Majesty's Council here. Help to remedy this, I beseech your LL., and yet he not harmed if possibly it may be.

I declared in my instructions sent by Mr. Wilford and Mr. Carleton, that I doubted I should be unable to go through with the enterprize of Clandeboye, and to bear the half of the charge with H. M., for that I feared the adventurers would all shrink. It is possible H. M. may find fault in me, for attempting of this without better foresight: it was impossible for me to be assured of the adventurers sticking unto me, but only by their words, for bonds they would come in none, and I trust their failing shall not be accounted my default; and for mine own part I will not leave the enterprize as long as I have any foot of land in England unsold. But this is my case, my Lords; my land is so entangled to the Queen's Majesty, for that money which I had of her, towards this journey, as I cannot sell any land I have for the one half of that which before I might have done, and all men besides are so afraid to deal with me by reason of this enterprize, as they are not willing to give me any thing for it. My humble suit unto your LL. is, that you will be petitioners unto H. M. for me, that she would take with me one of these ways; first, that I may surrender my grant, and bear the adventure of 100 horsemen with her; and my reason why I desire this is, for that the adventurers have failed, and

my land is so entangled as I cannot sell it to perform this service withal; but chiefly I desire for that if I should myself die before this were performed, both my charge and all the adventurers is utterly lost, and my children (my lands being so charged) likely for ever to be utterly undone. If I should die before the enterprize were achieved, the Queen's Majesty is to have of my lands a third part, my wife another third, and the greatest part of the rest entangled to H. M., and then is there nothing left for the following of the war. This is the thing which doth discourage all the adventurers and myself, and this it is which doth encourage the Irishry, for that, understanding that I am half with the Queen's Majesty, they make account it will sure quail. Herein I can, my LL., not excuse myself of oversight, by reason of the failing of the adventurers, who if they had cleaved fast unto me, I durst have made account, that this next year should have been raised that commodity of the country, as should quit the one half of both H. M's. charge and mine own for the bearing of 400 men apiece.

If it shall please H. M. to take this course, to take upon herself to bear 100 horsemen and 600 footmen, and I 100 horsemen, and bind as many of the adventurers as may be gotten to go through with the enterprize, which they will willingly do, H. M. taking to herself the cause, let me bear both the blame and the shame, if I do not before Christmas-day make that part as quiet as any part in Ireland shall be, and that all Englishmen shall be as quietly set down to dwell there that will, or else that the Irishmen there dwelling shall yield unto H. M. as great a rent as any man elsewhere shall do, until such time as enough of Englishmen shall come to inhabit it. If it shall please H. M. to like of this, then do I desire that I may have of H. M., yielding therefor some small rent, the island of Mc Guy, which is not above 3000 acres of ground, for the which I will give 500*l.* towards the walling

of any towns, which it shall please H. M. to build there; and then do I desire that it would please H. M. to appoint her Governor of the realm to undertake the war, for that I find it were more easier for me to bear the charges of 200 men, than to bear the name of a General without wages.

If it shall not like H. M. to accept of this course, then my humble suit is, that it may please H. M. to take of me for 10,000*l.* which I owe her, 250*l.* land, which I could have sold for more money before it was entangled unto her, and to set free the third part of my lands, both of this in Ireland and England during the minority of mine heir, if I should chance to die; and I will go forward with the adventure as I first began, whatsoever it may cost me; but yet this way will neither please the adventurers, nor encourage them to go forwards.

If neither of these ways shall please H. M., yet I humbly desire of her and your LL. that I may have speedy answer whereunto I shall trust. I forbear to write unto your LL. of the estate of other countries of this realm, lest I might seem to shoot at that, which I protest before God I do not. But in this I will assure your LL., that unless you send men, and that in time, you shall find that Ireland shall greatly be an unquiet country, and vastly may it be prevented if it be looked unto in time. God send that H. M. and your LL. may take that care of this country, that we who serve under you as ministers, do desire to be taken. We that serve here fear and are discouraged for that we see so slow resolutions come from thence; and it is an opinion conceived by most here, that there is not that care taken of this realm that is necessary. I trust your LL. will not be offended with me for reporting that which I do commonly hear from others. I write this letter unto your LL., choosing rather to unfold my whole griefs unto your LL., than to do it generally to all the Council. You are the three whom as I honour most, so do I

account myself most bound unto you. And I humbly crave of you that I may have your furtherance for speedy resolutions in all these causes. I understand from Mr. Waterhouse there is money delivered unto him for making a new provision of victuals, and he writeth unto me that it is to provide for 1000 men for six months. That provision which is accounted for six months will not last four. At this present at Knockfergus, there is not in all the town and fort left alive above 200 horsemen and footmen (my own band of horsemen which is here with me not reckoned), and yet are there daily delivered out, allowance of victuals for 574 men. I have been driven to borrow, for the furnishing of that garrison since I came to this town, 800*l.*, besides 500*l.*, which I have this day sent to my Lord of Kildare to borrow of him; and no penny have I bestowed thereof but in making provisions necessary for the garrisons, and my own household expenses, which expenses of household I assure your LL. are very great, for where I lie I do pay both for victuals and horsemeat so great a price, as in no place of England I may buy them dearer. My charges do amount to above 10*l.* by the day. I have here of mine own household, and of gentlemen and their retinue, which depend wholly upon my charge, at least 160 persons, and 80 and more horses; and not one horse that here I keep but standeth me more than in any place in England he should do, and I do daily pay for all their charges.

At my being at Dublin, I understood that there was 8000*l.* newly come over thither, to be employed upon present service; I saw being there warrants signed for in effect the whole money; there was no more delivered for the soldiers than for 560 footmen and 100 horsemen, an imprest for one month's service; and yet remained there of the money, as both the Treasurer assured me and myself saw the reckoning, not above 200*l.*, and the Treasurer having due

unto himself 700*l.* or 800*l.* had thereof not one penny. I write this, my LL., for this cause, that money would have served for a good time, to have made provision of victuals for more soldiers than here are; and now that being gone, and in effect no provision made, I fear me there will be great want unto the soldiers of victuals; and learn, I cannot, that there is any forecast of remedying of it. My Lord Deputy giveth out that he looketh every day to be discharged, and therefore, seemeth not to take that care that men think were requisite he should do. Between these supposed changes is ever (as they say) all the mischief in Ireland; and therefore, it were good to make it surely known that he shall still remain, or else to send such a governor as you do determine on presently, for the expectation of a change maketh this man not to be obeyed, nor cared for.

I have troubled your LL. with a long letter. I will conclude, redoubling once again my humble petition for my discharge of this government of Ulster, and Her Majesty's speedy resolution in all these causes, unto whom I have written myself but briefly, referring all to the report of your LL. This bearer can inform your LL. of divers things which I, making haste in my journey, have forgotten to write; and so referring myself, and all my causes, to the good consideration of your LL., I humbly take my leave of you. Dundalk, this 8th day of March, 1574.

At your LL. commandment,

W. ESSEX.

Nothing could be more calculated to soothe and encourage the Earl than the reply of Elizabeth, full of flattering expressions, assenting to his proposal, directing a combined attack on the rebels before Tirlogh could be joined by his Scotch auxiliaries, and, to pre-

vent misunderstanding, sending joint instructions to the Deputy and Essex. But if he thought his difficulties were terminated, he was greatly in error; his enemies, driven from one line of obstruction, retreated but a short distance till they reached another; and so never ceased to harass and annoy their victim, who was entrapped, with a large portion of his fortune, in a service from which he could not escape without risking its loss.

No. X.[1]

The Queen to Essex.

Right trusty and well-beloved,—Whereas we have received sundry letters from you since your departure from us, whereunto for that you received no answer, you seem to doubt that either what you write is forgotten, or else your service neglected; for the removing of which doubts assure yourself that your letters have been by us most acceptably received, as for the which we render you our most hearty thanks; and as for your service, though the same through cross and overthwart accidents hath had hitherto very unfortunate success, yet we, acknowledging the same to have been grounded not on gain, but upon honor (an argument of true nobility), cannot, whatsoever issue the same hath had, but make account of you as of that noble man who, in respect of our service, hath rather chosen to suffer any intolerable toil in Ireland, than yield to enjoy the delicacy of England. Which rare affection, if we should not cherish, we should shew ourself unworthy of so rare a servant. Therefore, assure yourself that, as we made good account of you before, so, upon this proof given of your value, we make double account of you now; and therefore,

[1] S. P. O.

we would not have you (though your letters received not present answers) to mistrust that the same proceeded either of lack of grateful receiving of them, or of neglecting your service. You know some of them contained such matters as were not fit to be answered by every Secretary, to the contents whereof assure yourself our eyes and the fire only have been made privy. We perceive by them how careful you are every way of our service; and therefore, you may assure yourself you shall not find us a mistress void of that consideration that like fidelity deserveth.

Now, touching our resolution, what we have determined on for you: true it is that we were once resolved to have revoked you, in respect of the evil success that hitherto your enterprize hath had, and the adventurers abandoning you; yet now being loth to discourage your forward mind, being so zealously bent to do us service, we are content to yield to your stay there until such time as we see what issue the enterprize will take, and to accept your first offer contained in your letter directed to certain of our Council, in the which you offer to surrender unto us Clandeboye, and all other portion of lands contained in your letters patent, requesting us only to allow in pay the number of 600 footmen and 100 horse, with which number and 100 horse, which you offer to maintain at your own charges as an adventurer, you put us in great hope not only to expel the Scots, but also to reduce Clandeboye within a very short time to such state as the same may either be planted with English people taking land of us, at such rent as was meant the adventurers should have paid, or else that the Irish shall be made to yield unto us such a portion of rent, as may both maintain our whole garrison there, and also may bring unto us some increase of revenue towards the defraying our former great charges. In consideration of which offer you desire at our hands an estate of fee simple of the island of Mac Guy,

whereunto we are content to yield after a survey taken by our officers; whereby some mean rent may be allotted out in acknowledgment of our sovereignty. And because you may bring the matter of Clandeboye the better to pass, we have appointed our Deputy of that our realm to join with you in assistance, as may appear unto you by our instructions which you shall herewith receive, whom we have strictly commanded that the direction which he shall receive from us by way of instructions touching the manner of assisting you shall be kept very secret, and not communicated (until the service shall be ready to be executed) to any of our Council there, but unto yourself, and some well chosen person that may be employed as a messenger between you; for that, in such like exploits, the good and bad success of them consisteth chiefly in secresy and celerity. Which admonition as we thought fit to be given to him, so do we think it also necessary for you; not doubting, therefore, but that you will so use it, as it may best tend to our service.

Enclosure, headed, "Instructions for the Earl of Essex, Martii 30."

Forasmuch as it appeareth by your letter directed to certain of our Council, that Tirlogh Lenoghe is the only head and principal maintainer of all rebellion and disorder in Ulster, without whose expulsion or conformity that country can never be reduced to good order, we have appointed our Deputy, presently after he hath settled the state of Munster and Connaught in good quiet, according to such order as we have prescribed him, to proceed with all the force he can make against him, which we have willed him to execute with all speed, taking benefit of the time, now that his cattle is weak, and before the Scots you advertize of repair unto him, which will not be, as we are informed,

much before May, for that his cattle cannot yield him necessary sustenance. And for that his forces may rather be abated, we have also given order to our said Deputy to practise with his Uraght[1] to abandon him upon assurance to receive from us other estates by letters patent.

To the end now that this enterprize against Tirlogh Lenoghe may take the better effect, we would have you do your endeavour, upon notice given by our said Deputy when he shall be in readiness to invade him, at the self same instant to employ all your forces to the expulsion of the Scots, and to reduce Brian McPhelim by force or by fair means to submit himself. Whereunto if he shall yield by fair means, then do we authorize you to yield some portion of ground to him and to his assigns, taking the same by grant from us, upon a reasonable rent and condition of service to our Crown. And for that we think a conference between you and our Deputy very necessary before you proceed in this exploit, which we wish to be very secret, for that the good success of the enterprize consisteth chiefly in close keeping of the matter, we have written unto him that he shall, if conveniently it may be, appoint the time and place of meeting.

We mean to take order for the better strengthening of you, that our trusty and well-beloved servant, T. Smith, shall either send some forces to the Ardes, or else shall be compounded withal for his interest.

According to your request made unto us to be discharged of the government of Ulster, we have written to our Deputy that he shall resume the same into his hands.

For that we are given to understand that the 100 horse you require may more conveniently be levied there than here, to have them at such fit time as you shall need them

[1] Uraght—petty chieftains, dependent on, and owing service to, a superior.

for the intended service, we think it, therefore, best that you levy them there; and to that purpose we have written to our Deputy to assist you.

We would have you use all good means to nourish the Baron of Dungannon and O'Donell's good devotion towards us, assuring them that, if they shall continue their dutifulness and loyalty towards us, they shall find us ready to gratify them in any of their reasonable requests, upon such recommendation as we shall receive from you on their behalves.

The decision taken in the Royal Councils did not at all please the Earl, for on the 2nd April[1] he wrote again to Burghley, that he heard the Queen intended to recal him, and was moved to that course by some persons who, "for envy or malice they bear to me, "are persuaders of her to this, not caring, so they may "disgrace me, what becomes of her, nor of her coun-"try." He says there are also some in that country who know that he has discovered their practices, by which they put 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* yearly into their own pockets which should have gone to the Queen's coffers. It seems that the commanders of the troops, when in the field, raised unlimited tribute from the inhabitants under the pretence of supplies for the soldiers, and so made large fortunes. In this letter he again desires that Burghley will let him send his son to be brought up with the young Cecill, as it was "time to draw him from his mother's wing."

Soon after he committed a great oversight, which drew down a strong censure from Lord Burghley. It will be remembered that his letter to the three

[1] S. P. O.

noblemen contained proposals to alter his position, both as regarded the government of Ulster and his grant of Clandeboye. He now wrote on this subject to the whole Council, telling them that his meaning had been mistaken; that they could not have supposed him so simple as to intend to give up all his past expenses, amounting to at least 12,000*l.*, and also the half of Clandeboye, and to take in lieu only the quantity of land incident to the adventure of a hundred horsemen. Burghley tells him that his letter to Sussex, Leicester, and himself, had been considered by them and the Queen only, and was not made known to the rest of the Council, who must, therefore, have been very much surprised at being accused of matters concerning which they had no knowledge. Burghley says the Queen had determined to break off the enterprise, but he and the two Lords had persuaded her to continue it.

Towards the end of April, having conferred with the Deputy, Essex made a journey to Belfast, to see what could be done with Sir Brian Mac Phelim, either to win him to obedience, or subdue him by force. He collected his forces at the Newry, among which were some detachments of new raised men lately come over, of whom he complains as being "such simple persons, especially those of Lancashire, "as I suppose cannot be found the like again," and hardly fit to be employed as labourers. After a good deal of coquetting on the part of Brian, he at length came in to Essex, and "on his knees made his "humble submission, craving Her Majesty's mercy,

" acknowledging his heinous offences, with great pro-
" testation to yield amends by his services, whereof
" he promised to give present proof. I somewhat
" told him of his follies, and, causing him to arise, did
" give him some better countenance."

The next service in which Essex was employed shows, that, having succeeded in dispossessing him of his government of Ulster, which had been cancelled, the Deputy was glad to make use of his conduct and influence; while, by forcing him to leave the neighbourhood of Belfast, he prevented the slight success which had lately been obtained in Ulster from becoming permanently beneficial.

In the beginning of June 1574, the Lord Deputy having resolved to proceed against the Earl of Desmond[1], Essex was called to Dublin to consult with the Council there; and being desired to protect the northern borders of the Pale by drawing down some of his force, and to remain at the Newry, while the Deputy went south, he objected that it would not only interfere with his building, but cause the Irish, lately reconciled, to waver, and in his absence to become reconciled to the Scots; besides which, he doubted his authority reaching beyond Clandeboye. The Council acknowledging the justice of this, yet being unanimously of opinion that, without his staying at the Newry, the journey against Desmond

[1] Gerald Fitz-Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, rebelled 1574; he was attainted 1582; and in the following year was captured, his head cut off and sent to London, where it was displayed on London Bridge. His lands extended 110 miles, and contained above half a million of acres. His son was restored in 1600.

could not be prosecuted, and the Queen's service would suffer, he was persuaded to consent to that course, and hoped, by fomenting the quarrel between the Irish and Scots, to prevent any mischief arising in Tyrone. Desmond, alarmed by the preparations against him, sent to solicit Essex to receive him, offering to go to him if he had authority to do so, and deal with him openly. His performance of which service he thus relates:—

No. XI.[1]

Essex to the Privy Council.

May it please your Lordships. Since the writing of my last letters, I have been at Waterford, and according to a commission granted unto me by the Lord Deputy and Council, have dealt with the Earl of Desmond as followeth.

I was accompanied with my Lord of Kildare[2], and setting forward from hence, the 28th day of June, we came to Waterford the last of that month. The same night a messenger came unto us from the Earl, declaring that he was at Kilmacthomas, twelve miles from the city, and was desirous to understand what I would have him to do. We returned answer, that, because the place was far off, we required that he would draw near unto us, to a bridge, three miles from Waterford. Upon receipt of our letter, he marched immediately thither, and desired to know when he should repair

[1] S. P. O. The letter of Essex to the three Lords, telling them that he is going, at the request of the Council, to deal with and "decypher the whole purpose of the Earl of Desmond," and that he has written to Desmond to appoint a meeting, together with the reply of the latter declaring he will follow the advice of Essex, and appointing Kilmacthomas as the place of meeting, are also in the S. P. O.

[2] Gerald Fitz-Gerald, tenth Earl of Kildare, born, 1525; died, 1585; ancestor of the Duke of Leinster.

unto me. Whereupon I required my Lord of Kildare to repair unto him, and to carry him unto me to a heath not far from the city, which he did without any stay, accompanied with the Lord Fitz-Morrice and others, to the number of 60 horse. At his coming, he said that he was fearful of the Lord Deputy's friendship, which made him doubtful to receive protection, saving that he trusted upon the honour of my word, and the Earl of Kildare's, that he should be in safety. I did then before his company assure him that he did the Lord Deputy wrong, and that he meant well towards him, so far as he should shew himself a good subject; and, after a few words, I demanded of him whether he would go with me to Dublin, to answer to such things as should be objected unto him by the Council: he said he would willingly, if his country and followers might be protected in his absence. I did hereupon deliver unto him the protection granted here under the seal, containing safety for himself and them for twenty days, and he delivered the same to one of his men, and rode presently with me to Waterford. Within two hours after, the Countess his wife, who was in the camp, came to the town, and seemed in words to me very desirous of his obedience and conformity; and, finding her so well inclined, I called the Earl of Desmond unto me, into my chamber, avoiding all save the Countess and the Earl of Kildare, and there I told him of his misdemeanours, and required him to be plain with me, and to declare what course he meant to take; whether he would conform himself to all things that was meet for a subject to do to his Sovereign; otherwise, as he had performed well his promise in coming unto me, so I would never trouble him in going farther; but while his strength was at hand, I would deliver him again in safety to his people. His answer was, that he would do any thing that could be required of any noble man of England or Ireland; with this answer I was satisfied, and so

within three days we came to Dublin, the Earl having in his company but only four of his household and John Fitz-Edmonds.

Before my coming from Waterford, he gave order for the enlarging of my cousin George Bourchier[1], who, as I hear, is now at liberty.

At my return hither, the Council here did assemble, and a time was appointed for the Earl to come before them; at which time the Earl upon his knees made his submission, the copy whereof I send unto your LL., together with such articles as the Lord Deputy and Council did the next day following deliver unto him, and his answers to the same.

For the manner of the Lord Deputy and Council's proceedings with him, and what they conclude against him, I leave to their own report, as things that I have not been called unto, but hope, that whatever they have determined they will yield sufficient reason for it. But, as I am informed, war is concluded, and that the Earl shall presently be proclaimed a traitor, and that the Lord Deputy with all speed beginneth his journey upon him. And like as I have in my last letter to you, my Lord Treasurer, 24 June, plainly declared my opinion of Desmond, and of the causes that moved me to deal in this treaty with him, which, for avoiding tediousness in me, I beseech your Lordship declare unto the rest of my LL.: so now I say unto all your LL., that in my judgment the war is unseasonably begun, because the rest of the realm standeth in so ill terms, and the manner of Desmond's answer is such as might with honor, as I think, have suffered a toleration till Ulster had been fully established, which had not been six weeks work if my Lord Deputy would have shewed any countenance that way. And now I look for none other but a general revolt of all Ulster; and the mischief is without remedy, for I am bound with the

[1] Second son of John Bourchier, second Earl of Bath.

Earl of Kildare, by our words and honours, to safe conduct Desmond to the confines of Munster, and to deliver him to his country in safety, which journey I begin this afternoon, and must spend, in going and coming, ten days at the least, in which mean season the bruit of the war will be public in all places; and so have I no time to go unto the North to stay those parts, but must hazard all my former travail. I beseech God all things fall out to the best, but I can hope of none other but a general stir in all parts at once. Nevertheless, I will be most willing to do my duty in mine own charge, hoping that your LL. will so judge of me, howsoever the success fall out; and also that your LL. will take in good part the travail of my Lord of Kildare with Desmond, who hath dealt honourably and plainly with the said Earl; and our labour is not all lost, because Bourchier is delivered, who otherwise must have starved in prison. And the Lord Deputy and Council have also decyphered Desmond by his personal appearance, and the manner of their dealings with him, whereof I think they will give account in the letter now sent; and so, with my humble duty, I take my leave; at Dublin, the 10th July, 1574.

At your LL. commandment,

W. ESSEX.

His conduct in Ulster was graciously received by the Queen, and acknowledged in the following letter.

No. XII.[1]

The Queen to Essex.

Right-trusty and right-well beloved Cousin, we greet you well. Understanding by your letters directed to us and to our Council, and otherwise, of your wise, discreet, and valiant and peaceful doings and travails in the province of Ulster,

[1] S. P. O.

we cannot but much commend you, and render unto you our most hearty thanks. And the more because we do perceive that, when occasion doth present, you do rather allure and bring in that rude and barbarous nation to civility, and acknowledging of their duty to God and to us, by wisdom and discreet handling, than by force and shedding of blood; and yet, when necessity requireth, you are ready also to oppose yourself and your forces to them whom reason and duty cannot bridle. This course of yours we must needs allow, and pray you to continue in the same. For particularities of such questions touching Tirlogh Lenoghe, O'Donell, and other things, wherein by your letters you do require to be satisfied, we refer you to such resolutions as our Council by their letters shall more at large signify unto you. Given at Windsor, the 13th July, 1574.

Although Sir Henry Sidney had been named chief Governor of Ireland, considerable delay occurred before he was actually appointed; of the evil effects of which Essex complains in a letter to Burghley. The employés under Sir W. Fitz-William profited by this interval to make their harvest, connived at or at least unchecked by him, and confident that his successor would accord complete amnesty for all offences past. Essex, although he could not but have desired the high distinction of that office himself, yet had consolations for his disappointment. The increase of honour would have been met by an augmented bitterness of enmity in those who opposed his appointment; while his open declarations against the peculators and plunderers would have involved him in a sea of troubles, and have greatly increased the difficulties of his situation.

No. XIII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—It grieveth me that I should so often trouble your L. as I do; but necessity doth compel me, for I find none who is careful of myself or my actions but yourself. I will not trouble your L. with a long discourse of the state of things here, but will refer you to the letters written to my LL. of the Council.

We have expected here the coming of Sir Henry Sidney these two months, but that bruit beginneth now to die. Surely, my L., the daily looking for of a change doth great harm, for during this interim is the greatest spoil committed, because all the ill-disposed now rob and steal, hoping that the new Governor will pardon all done before his time. God send us shortly a settled Governor, and such a one as is fit for Ireland, not Ireland fit for him. This people wax proud, yea, the best might be amended; all need correction.

I understand by divers of my friends, that your L. hath both wished and labored to place me in this unfortunate office. There is just cause why I should think myself most deeply bound to you for it, for I know your L. wisheth it for my good; but the fear of envy and of evil assistance doth so much discourage me to take it, as I assure you, my Lord, I wish it rather to any man, that were fit for it, than to myself. I know that as the entertainment is honorable, so is the charge great, and the burden heavy; and who shall serve the Queen and his country faithfully, shall have his pain a reward for his travail: but if he will respect his gain more than his Prince, country, or honesty, then may he make his gain unmerciful. Because I will shortly send again, I will not trouble your L. longer, but will conclude with my humble thanks for the money which your L. hath procured,

[1] Harl. MSS. 6991. f. 52.

which I assure you was much needed. God preserve your L. long in health and honor. From the Newry the 25th August, 1574.

Your L. most bounden,
W. ESSEX.

It would appear that Essex, in some of his private correspondence, which is not extant, must have charged Leicester with unfair practices, and during this summer their enmity broke out into an open quarrel, which was made up by the good offices of Lord Burghley, to whom Essex wrote, gratefully acknowledging the advice he had received from his Lordship, and declaring that his good-will to the Earl of Leicester, if that noble man chose to accept it, should be shown in the true fruits of friendship. He enclosed to Burghley a copy of the letter of reconciliation which he wrote to Leicester. This letter I conceive to be quite sufficient to clear Lady Essex up to this date of all the accusations and insinuations levelled against her as intriguing with Leicester. It is not possible that one endowed with so nice a sense of honour as the Earl of Essex should offer his friendship in such terms to the man with whom he had quarrelled for injuring him in the tenderest point.

No. XIV.[1]

The Copy of my Letter, now sent my Lord of Leicester.

My good Lord,—I have received your L. letter, and have heard Flood's speech concerning the former report made to

[1] S. P. O.

me by Doughty, Your L. letter and Flood's words do indeed concur, and are both so different from the former information made to me, as I see how perilous it is to believe any servant's speech. And yet was I the rather induced to give him credit, because he had before that time spoken as much as any other of his devotion to me and my cause. And finding then, as I conceived by his words, a declination in you, and that joined with your L.'s ill opinion of me when I thought myself most assured of it, I took this undeserved alteration so unkindly, as I must confess I was not satisfied until I had revealed it unto your L.; the manner whereof I trust with friendly interpretation cannot be ill taken, for I am sure it appeared how loth I was to lose your L., and I named both the causes of my grief, and the reporter. And as I mean not to use the man any more in that trust, or any way in soliciting of my causes, so, if I have been over earnest in my late letters, I pray you impute it to my plain and open nature. And this recompense I will yield you, that from henceforward no one man's tale shall make me conceive doubtfully of any friend of far meaner calling than your L., of whose good affection towards me I do now see sufficient cause to judge, not only by your letters to myself, but by two others written to this bearer Mr. Ashton, where, in the middle of your unkindness, you have yet a care of me in revealing such bruits as it seemeth are given forth of me, to the end, as I take it, that I should avoid the cause, if any be, of such ill opinion; for which admonition I heartily thank your L. But yet, my Lord, I pray you consider whether I had cause to wax warm. Doughty's tale charged me with ambition and ingratitude; your L.'s letter to Mr. Ashton declared an opinion conceived, I know not by whom, of my delicacy and cowardice. These be four cardinal virtues, but the devil hath more in store, from whose instruments, those sharp soldiers I mean, that gave me over in my enterprize, these rumors came: and are increased by others who are gone from hence,

and would cover their own lewd practices by imperfections in me. But my patience can appease greater storms than this, till I know whom I may challenge. I am sure that those heralds that blaze me no better to your L. are not of my fee. But I heartily thank you in giving me the mean to understand these things, by so good an instrument as Mr. Ashton, and I will account it among the rest of your L.'s good deserts of me. And since I hope that this my letter and my speech to the bearer shall now thoroughly satisfy you of me, I pray your L. that henceforth, howsoever reports come, you will suspend judgment, as I will do of you, and what this bearer shall persuade in my behalf, to receive from time to time as my mind and opinion, whose travail I mean to use even in my greatest matters. And so wishing your L. as to myself, and resting in all offices unto you as your assured friend and kinsman, I end; at Dublin this 7th October, 1574.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF WALTER, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

JOURNEY OF ESSEX AGAINST THE REBELS, AND HIS REPORT OF THE EXPEDITION. — ARREST OF BRIAN MAC PHELIM. — DOUBTS ENTERTAINED BY THE QUEEN WHETHER ESSEX SHOULD REMAIN. — THE DEPUTY DISCHARGES ESSEX'S SOLDIERS. — INDIGNANT REMONSTRANCE OF ESSEX. — HIS LETTER TO THE QUEEN. — HER REPLY "TO ENCOURAGE HIM."—THE QUEEN'S LETTERS TO ESSEX, AND TO THE DEPUTY. — ORDERED TO PROCEED WITH ULSTER ENTERPRISE. — EXTRAORDINARY VACILLATION IN ROYAL COUNCILS. — THE ENTERPRISE BROKEN OFF. — THE QUEEN'S LETTER TO ESSEX, WHO PROCEEDS TO WIND UP HIS AFFAIRS. — LETTERS RECOUNTING HIS PROCEEDINGS, AND THE TAKING OF RAGHLIN ISLAND.

THE next letter from the Earl of Essex to the Council in England, giving an account of an expedition or journey, as it was termed, against the rebels, in which he reached Lough Foyle, is extremely interesting. We learn from it the barbarous mode of warfare which was adopted by the most humane generals against the Irish; who being always able to evade the English in the woods and morasses, the latter wreaked their vengeance on the crops, and endeavoured by wasting and burning the corn to starve the rebels. This course was recommended even by the humane and gentle Spenser, who, in his account, gives a frightful picture of the state to which the miserable inhabitants were occasionally reduced. Speaking of Munster, he says, that, a year

and a half previous, it was a rich and plentiful county, full of corn and cattle; but then "was "brought to such wretchedness, that the most stony "heart would have rued the same; out of every "corner of the woods and glens they came creeping "forth on their hands, for their legs would not bear "them; they looked like anatomies of death; they "spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they "did eat the dead carcases, they spared not to scrape "out of their graves; and if they found a plot of "water cresses or shamrocks, here they flocked as "to a feast. A most populous and plentiful county "was suddenly left void of man and beast; yet "surely in all that war, there perished not many by "the sword, but all by the extremity of famine "which they themselves had wrought."[1]

Little wonder, indeed, that a people reduced to such horrible excess of wretchedness should bear undying hatred to those whom they looked upon as the authors of their misery.

No. XV.[2]

Essex to the Privy Council.

It may please your LL. Upon the departure of my Lord Deputy into Munster, it was ordered that I should remain upon the borders of Ulster, to defend the invasions of Tirlogh Lenoghe, for which purpose I did presently draw all the soldiers saving one band of footmen, out of Clande-

[1] View of the State of Ireland, by Edmund Spenser, 1596; published at Dublin, 1633, p. 72.

[2] S. P. O.

boye to the Newry and Dundalk. Before my coming to the Newry, three of Tirlogh Braselogh's sons had been arrested, the oldest by the Marshal, the other two by the Baron of Dungannon, upon whom they have depended for this year past, and then taken in hand upon their practice to murder the Baron, being promised for that act, by Tirlogh Lenoghe, the liberty of their father who was then prisoner with him. These three brothers, the night before they should have been delivered to me, were suffered to escape by Mr. Marshal's man, constable of the Newry. Immediately after their departure they found the means, by device of certain women, to steal the possession of a fort in the river of Little Bann from the Baron of Dungannon, which lay upon Magennis and the Baron his lands, and was of great importance to them both. This Loughe they manned with the number of 40 men, whereof the most was shot; and the eldest brother, Phelim O'Neil, as their captain, kept it. The Baron desired me to win it again, at whose request it was attempted, and within four days won, with the loss of three or four soldiers of my cousin, John Norreys' band, and Captain Acres. On the fort were slain 34, the Captain Phelim taken, and his uncle's son, who are yet in prison; the rest who were in the fort escaped by swimming. On this mean time here arrived Salomon, that solicited for T. Lenoghe in England, and brought me H. M. letters and your LL. for my dealing with him; and because the treaty with him was wholly referred unto me, in the absence of my Lord Deputy, I thought it good to take advice of my Lord Keeper and the rest of the Council, for my conclusion with him; for which purpose I repaired to Dublin, having first appointed with T. Lenoghe a parle the 14th September at the Blackwater.

After my conference with the Council I proceeded in my journey, and came to the Blackwater the day appointed,

accompanied with the Barons of Delvin[1], Louth[2], and Dungannon, and certain gentlemen of the English Pale, sent out by the Earl of Kildare, in all to the number of three score horse. Sir Brian McPhelim was coming to me with 60 horse and 300 kerne, but because I was informed T. Lenoghe meant, if he were chased, to put his cattle over the Bann into Clandeboye, and that I doubted in his absence the Scots would have preyed him, I did countermand him by my letters, whereupon he staid. I had with me of the Irishry, Magennis and Mac Mahon, with their rising out, and 120 galloglass[3] and 600 kerne; with these, at my coming to the camping place near Benburb, I expected Tirlogh Lenoghe, according to his promise, but he brake with me, and denied to come at me where I encamped, because there was a ford, as he alleged; requiring me to come to another place where the water was deep. I answered unto him, that any place was safe enough for him, requiring him to come to the camp, offering him safe conduct for his security. He refused it utterly. I thought it fit thereupon to send him word that if he did break with me I would invade his country: his answer was, he would not come at me, but desired peace for one month, hoping, indeed,

[1] Christopher Nugent, ninth Baron of Delvin, born 1544; married a daughter of the Earl of Kildare, ancestor of the Marquis of Westmeath.

[2] Patrick Plunket, third Lord Louth, killed in 1575, at Essexford, aged 23.

[3] "Galloglass—picked men, of great and mighty bodies, cruel, without compassion. The greatest force of the battle consisteth in them, chusing rather to die than to yield; so that when it cometh to hardy blows, they are quickly slain, or win the field. They are armed with a shirt of mail, a skull, and a skeine: the weapon they most use is a battle-axe or halberd, six feet long, the blade whereof is somewhat like a shoemaker's knife, and without a pike; the stroke whereof is deadly where it lighteth. And being thus armed, reckoning to him a man for his harness bearer, and a boy to carry his provisions, he is named a spare, of his weapon so called, eighty of which spares make a battle of Galloglass."—Dimmock's Treatise of Ireland

of aid out of Scotland from James McDonell's son, who is since arrived with 600 Scots. Whereupon the next day I entered the country, and sent out of my horsemen to fire the corn, which I found in great plenty, and in great ricks. The next day I appointed the Baron of Dungannon, Capt. Malbie, and Thomas Fleming, with a competent number of horsemen and kerne, to break into Maguire's country, where they laid hold upon 400 kine, which they brought with them, unto a place upon the skirts of Maguire's country, five miles beyond Clogher, where I promised to meet them, and there to encamp that night, as I did; which place was such as was greatly advantageous for the enemy, being both boggy and woody; which I did foresee, and appointed my watch accordingly; and as I had, indeed, some doubt, partly by the seat of the place, partly by my espial, that if at any time the rebels would do anything, that was the most commodious that ever he should have all my journey, so about the hour of midnight, T. Lenoghe, accompanied with 200 horsemen and 600 Scots, vowing to enter the camp, came to the very edge of the same; who, being discovered by the scout that gave the alarm, bestowed three or four shot, but, upon the sound of the drum, they took their flight, leaving sixty of their bows behind them, and many of their arrows, and many sculls, which, in the morning, the soldiers found and brought away. I marched that day towards Omagh, putting out of my horsemen to spoil and burn, without having any sight of the enemy. I encamped from the Omagh three miles the 20th day.

The 21st day I passed by the Newcastle, T. Lenoghe's house, and encamped three miles from it.

The 22d day I came to the Lifford, where O'Donell met me, accompained with 200 horsemen and 500 galloglass; Con O'Donell also being in the Lifford, came out unto me. The same day O'Donell and Con came over the river with

their forces, which day we marched unto a castle of T. Lenoghe's, called Dunnalong[1], standing upon Lough Foyle river, six miles from Lifford, bordering upon O'Cane's country, where, by my appointment, my shipping met me with some beer and biscuit, with which I refreshed the soldiers; for so was I driven to do, for that I had not, nor could not have, any store of garrons to carry from here above six days victuals, and by reason thereof was driven to shorten my journey, which afterwards I purposed to have lengthened, and to have returned over the Bann by Clandeboye and the Glynnes.

At my being at Dunnalong, I called O'Donell, Con O'Donell, O'Doherty, and others of the principal persons of Tyrconnel[2], and declared unto them how I had dealt with T. Lenoghe, and how contemptuously he used himself against H. M. I declared also what H. M.'s intent was towards him, if he did refuse that which was offered him by her highness, which he had now done; and therefore, forasmuch as he minded nothing but rebellion and war, H. M. findeth it very necessary to expulse him by war, which now for his disobedience is commenced against him. I told them also that sithence war was begun, her highness did expect at their hands all their assistance and forces against this obstinate rebel; requiring them, in Her Majesty's name, to put to their helping hands against T. Lenoghe; whereunto O'Donell, and the rest with him, every one save Con O'Donell, very frankly answered that it was their duty so to do, and he that would not spend his life and all his goods to conserve her highness's dignity, neither could be accounted a good subject, nor was not worthy to have life, promising withal that there should

[1] Of this once important fortress scarcely a trace remains: it was situated on the bank of Foyle, in the county Tyrone, about six miles above Derry. — Ordnance Survey, Ireland.

[2] Now Donegal.

be no want in them any way to advance H. M. service. Con O'Donell, after their answer delivered, to my seeming not liking my motion, did bid O'Donell to take heed what he did promise, saying it was a dangerous matter to enter into war, and that for his own part he would know how he should be maintained, before he should work himself trouble for any respect. I reprehended him for his speech, which he rehearsed again unto me, adding also that he had rather live as a felon or a rebel, than adventure his undoing for the Queen; for which arrogant speech I rebuked him with some sharp words, putting him to silence. After much more speech, too long to be written, O'Donell desired a time to consult with his friends, touching the good handling and concluding for the war. They went together, and being all of one mind as before, Con O'Donell cast a bone among them; upon which they put out some questions of request unto me, which I answered to their contents. I may not omit to tell your LL. how I was informed by persons of good credit, that Con O'Donell was a dear friend to T. Lenoghe, and as fast unto him as his hand was to his body, and that by no means I could procure him to do anything against T. Lenoghe. I was also informed, three days before I came to Lifford, that Con had received into his country and under his wing 6000 or 7000 kine of T. Lenoghe's followers, which he kept secret from me, until such time as I charged him with it, whereof he confessed part, and part he denied: other unlawful things also he was touched withal, as coining of money, whereof there was great likelihood, as appeared afterwards by certain plates, quicksilver, and sulphur, found in his castle, whereof I send some to your LL. by this bearer.

Now, O'Donell agreeing to adhere unto H. M. service, desired by a bill of petitions, that forasmuch as he was placed by H. M. authority Captain of Tyrconnel in Sir Henry Sidney's time of government, and that by the said Lord

Deputy the castle of Lifford was given unto him, as incident and appertainment unto the Captain of Tyrconnel, of which castle he held possession quietly one whole year, until by cawtell of Con O'Donell procuring Captain Potter to offer force without commission, against the warders of the said castle, who for want of courage gave it over, which Con O'Donell presently entered, and ever sithence hath held without any right or just claim, and notwithstanding O'Donell said he abstained from any force to be offered against Con in respect of his duty unto H. M., and for the good hope he had to be restored to it again by H. M. force and authority, as at the first it was ordered unto him; which time, according to his expectation, being now instant, he humbly desired, according to justice, to have possession of his house.

When I had well considered the cause, and found indeed that the castle was wrongfully withholden from him, besides that I considered that Con being so dear a friend unto T. Lenoghe, it was not fit he should have such a place to succour a rebel with, to lengthen the war; and weighing also, that if O'Donell should have been denied his right, and that Con O'Donell abiding and dwelling at Lifford, might both withdraw O'Donell's good will from doing that good service, which he had good mind to do, and be a succour unto the rebels, if Con should have continued there; and conferring Con's doings with these considerations, I found it necessary to lay hands upon him, and to deliver the castle unto O'Donell. I did also charge O'Donell to seize upon as much of the cattle of Tyrone as were fled into Tyrconnel under Con's protection, commanding him, as he would answer it, in no wise to touch Con's goods or cattle.

He departed from me, with whom I sent Thos. Fleming, who brought me of that cattle to the number of 1400 kine, to the camp at Lifford, whither I returned from Dunnalong; the rest, O'Donell's men had laid hold on, and, as their manner is, every man carried his booty home; whereat I found some

fault with O'Donell, concluding nevertheless with him, that, in consideration of those cattle, he should wage 600 men of the Irish and Scottish born in Ireland, over and above the force of Tyrconnel during this war, and besides should relieve the army with kine for their victualling, to a certain proportion, when I sent for them.

This was the whole of my dealing with him, saving that at my departure from O'Donell, I took his book oath to prosecute T. Lenoghe all he could, so long as H. M. have war against him.

So I left, and, on my way homewards, I gave order to burn as much corn as could be, which I assure your LL. was exceeding much, not less by estimation than to the value of 5000*l.*; for so I ordered my marching as I might most annoy him by spoil of the country, where was most plenty of corn, both going and coming.

At my return to the Newry, I committed Con O'Donell to the Provost Marshal, who by negligence, as since hath been proved, and not by corruption, suffered him to escape, which being resolved unto me, I made proclamation that if he passed through any Irish country, and was not apprehended and brought to me, I would spoil the country, and account the Captain a traitor. This being known to Magennis, the Galloglass, and those of the Fewes, he was that night taken by the Galloglass and brought unto me, and now have placed him sure enough in the castle here, whereby I see that the war will be much shortened, and T. Lenoghe spoiled of his best friend, whose dwelling was apt to have annoyed O'Donell, and to receive Scots, which under his sufferance have often landed at Lough Foyle.

This is the substance of my late journey, since which time Tirlogh has made means for peace, and yet doth daily; and hath also sent to Mac Mahon the letter enclosed, forbidding him any more to come at me.

At the breaking up of the camp, I appointed another journey to be made upon him the 27th of this month, whereof my Lord Deputy hearing, sheweth himself very willing to go northwards, and prepareth for it, by whose help I hope things will fall out much to H.M. honour and surety of her estate here; for surely the country may very easily be reformed, by bending the whole force to these parts, and so established as it may be ever preserved from rebellion hereafter. In all the journies that ever I made in Ulster, I was never assisted so much as with a garron out of the English Pale, saving once with fifteen garrons, and another time with seven garrons. I never had a beef, or any thing else for my household, but at such extreme penny worths as hath not been heard of in this country. And now I learn that the gentlemen of the Pale will deny cess for soldiers, or for my Lord Deputy's household or horses.

I assure you LL. there must be example made of some disordered persons of the gentlemen of these parts, for they grow insolent above measure.

On all other matters required in your LL. late letters, I will satisfy your LL. with all convenient speed by other letters sent by M. Ashton, who is not able to ride so fast as this bearer, but will, I hope, be with you in three or four days after the delivery of these.

And so finding my letter very tedious, I commit your LL. to God. From Dublin, this 8th October, 1574.

At your LL. commandment,

W. ESSEX.

P.S. Your LL. shall understand that before my coming to the Blackwater, upon request made to me by T. Lenoghe, to send some man of trust unto him with H.M. resolutions, I appointed the Dean of Armagh and Mr. Ashton to repair unto him with certain articles; by whom I understood that

he would forego nothing that his predecessors have had, saving that he was contented to yield a little tribute for the uraghts. This pride in him I perceived was no way to be abated but by war; whereupon I took the opportunity offered me, when I had my company together, and entered Tyrone, as your LL. have heard in my letter.

The Earl's plan for the reformation and plantation of Ulster was approved at home, and in October the Queen desired him to repair to Court, making arrangements with the Deputy for the government of Ulster in his absence; but if his absence should be, in his opinion, disadvantageous to the service, to send some one over, well instructed in all points to resolve any doubts entertained of the plan. Having sure information that Sir Brian Mac Phelim was about to revolt again, he sent Captain Malbie over, and remained in Ireland himself. Mac Phelim, not suspecting his practices were known to Essex, met him at Belfast, to welcome him back into Ulster, "after "his dissembling manner," and brought his wife the more to blind Essex, who, however, had learnt by experience the degree of trust to be placed in their professions; and after consulting all his captains, gave orders to arrest Brian Mac Phelim that night, which was accordingly done; the Irish resisting lost upwards of 100 men, killed. The next morning he sent out a party, who brought in 3000 head of cattle and several brood mares. Essex thought it necessary to issue a proclamation justifying this arrest, in which, after stating that Mac Phelim never had a safe conduct, he details the causes which induced his

arrest: his inveigling and treacherously murdering the Queen's subjects, whom he beheaded, and then stuck their heads on poles with their privy members in their mouths; his endeavouring to starve the garrison of Knockfergus, by withholding provisions; his parleys with Tirlogh Lenoghe; his revealing to the Scots the intentions of the Earl against them, having by his professions obtained his confidence; his suffering the Scots to escape, when he had undertaken, assisted by a force sent by Essex, to destroy them; his plan to get Captain Malbie into his hands, and afterwards to have fallen on one part of Essex's army at the ford of the Bann, while Tirlogh was to have done the same to the part that had crossed, and so to have destroyed them, and made an end of the war. These treasons having been revealed, and the intention proved by good and sufficient witnesses, he had, with the advice of all the captains, determined to arrest him.[1]

In the beginning of 1575 Essex occupied himself in opening ways or passes through the woods which covered the country into Tyrone, Farney, the Brenny, and Mac Mahon's country; these he cut so wide that ten horsemen might ride abreast.

In March, 1575, Leicester acquainted Sir F. Walsingham, who was throughout a staunch friend to Essex, that the Queen was again disturbed with doubts respecting the advantage of continuing the Ulster enterprise, which, probably, he had himself

[1] This proclamation is enclosed in a dispatch to the Privy Council, dated 24th Dec. 1574, in S. P. O.

instilled into her mind. To this Walsingham replied, that in his opinion, as the Queen had not been persuaded to make the Earl Lord Deputy, she had better recall him; he thought that "God's curse "on that country will not suffer any thing to take "place which tends to its reformation." This plan in no way suited the views of Leicester, who desired not indeed that Essex should succeed in his undertaking, but was still more anxious that his absence from Court should continue. Accordingly a plan was devised, which, while it appeared to forward the design of the Earl of Essex, involved its certain ruin. Essex had stated that with 1300 men he would undertake to subdue and keep in quiet all Ulster, and by forts and bridges, which he proposed to build, he would cover and protect the settlers; who were to be encouraged, by grants at a low rent, to take possession of and cultivate the country. But by the arrangement made, the royal letter left only 700 men at the disposal of the Lord Deputy, and the Queen required that both he and the Earl should agree to the arrangement, or it was not to take effect. To this the Deputy would by no means consent. He said that he saw nothing was less meant than that the Ulster enterprise should go forward, otherwise such impossible conditions would not have been proposed to him; that the number of 700 men was almost entirely taken up by garrisons and retinues, leaving him no disposable soldiers.[1] The Queen

[1] Despatches of 10th and 31st March, 1575.—S. P. O.

having peremptorily ordered the discharge of all above 2000 men, the Deputy executed those orders, and to avoid remonstrance set out on a journey. The treasurer would not pay the discharged men, having received no orders; the victualler ceased to victual them, and Essex was left in this dilemma, against which he remonstrated indignantly to the Privy Council. "Can any one thing," said he, "be "conceived of this dealing, but that my Lord Deputy "goeth about to make me the author of all the dis- "order that necessity, famine, and desperation shall "drive the soldiers to do. My Lords, add this to "the other injuries that are offered me by him, and "they are more than with patience can be well borne. "Shall I imagine that Her Majesty, who has so boun- "tifully granted all my petitions, to whom I am "bound for so many favours, who hath ennobled me, "who knoweth that she may command me in any- "thing without grudging — that her Majesty would "send any secret warrant thus to deal with me! "God defend that I should have so unreverent a "thought.

"Or shall I, that have so good proof of your per- "suasions in my behalf, and that know your wisdom, "and consideration of Her Majesty's honor, impute it "to your Lordships that have written the private let- "ters assuring me of the proceeding of the matter? "I will never think you authors of so dishonorable "a work.

"To whom then shall I impute it but to the "worker himself? I mean my Lord Deputy, who, his

"authority set aside, and as a private man, is not "able to make me amends for my loss of honor and "expenses, if he were sold to his shirt. I speak it, "my Lords, not in passion, but in just grief of "mind." [1]

The effect of this proceeding of the Deputy was exceedingly mischievous in Ireland. Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin [2], in a letter to Burghley, expresses his regret for the discharge of Essex, which "has not only wrought great discontentation in his "Lordship, but in the whole English Pale has "wrought an opinion that God will not suffer good "attempts to take deep root in this land." The old quarrel between the Deputy and Essex, which had been patched up, broke out again with such acrimony, that the Archbishop, the Lord Keeper Fitton, and the Vice Treasurer of Ireland, wrote to Burghley to inform him that they "see causes growing to such "dislike between the Lord Deputy and the said Earl, "as in our opinions doth weightily concern both "Her Majesty's service and the quiet of this state."

Essex wrote to the Queen on this occasion the following letter:—

No. XVI.[3]

Essex to the Queen.

It may please your most excellent Majesty. I have seen a letter signed by your Majesty, dated the 15th March, and

[1] S. P. O. 15th April, 1575.

[2] Second son of Edward Loftus, of Swineshead, co. York; Archbishop of Dublin, 1567; Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1578; died, 1605.

[3] S. P. O.

endorsed to the Lord Deputy and me, in answer to the matter propounded by me for the reducing the province of Ulster to your Majesty's obedience. In which letter your Majesty seemeth so well to favour that enterprize, as you have bountifully granted all such petitions as I thought meet to demand for your service, namely, for the numbers of men to be maintained in Ulster, and for the charges of the buildings, and every other thing saving the sterling pay, wherein, nevertheless, your Majesty had a principal consideration to have had the horsemen holden with some cess of the Irish, and the footbands relieved some time in the Pale, while others that should serve under my Lord Deputy might supply their places. These graces and favours proceeding of my suit, though most necessary for your honour, profit, and surety of this estate, do give me cause to yield to your Majesty mine humble thanks, and to increase my zeal and duty to serve your Majesty for ever. But, although this letter of your Majesty's was in these points comfortable to me, yet was it no warrant to me for proceeding in the enterprize without the assent of my Lord Deputy, and that his L. should tie himself to a number certain to be maintained in other parts of the realm. The choice, therefore, of proceeding or not proceeding being in your Deputy and not in me; his L. resolved, for such reasons as I think he will open to your Majesty, that this enterprize shall cease, and your army cashed to the number appointed in your Majesty's letter. And, although this conclusion is grievous to me after your Majesty's consent obtained, and such assuredness that my platt might, in every point, be accomplished; yet upon knowledge of my Lord Deputy's pleasure in this behalf, I have, as reason is, delivered to his L. all the soldiers serving under me in Ulster to be cashed; but not before I had used some persuasion unto him, to make some of the

councillors privy in so weighty a case, or that I might proceed with some force of hosting to establish the country and bring Tirlogh to order; or that it would please him to take the execution of the platt upon him, and I to serve under him privately, or as he would himself. And now having no longer soldiers to govern, I have also resigned the government of Ulster, having, I trust, the testimony of his L. and all your Majesty's good subjects here, that, during my remaining in that office, I have, with your force and my own industry, kept your Pale northward from invasion, your English subjects from slaughter or loss, and the Irish, such as were well inclined, from the tyranny of the rebel; yea, and the very rebel himself in fear of his utter overthrow, as might appear by his continual suit for peace. These things, in so dangerous a time as when arms were in a manner universally taken up in Munster and Connaught, and in some parts of Leinster, were thought here to be good service, and so I do assure myself your Majesty doth take it.

In the first part of your Majesty's letter, you seem to doubt that 500 men after two years, and the towns builded, should not be able to defend these towns, and keep the country obedient; but as I know 200 footmen are enough for the wards, so 200 horses, distributed as my platt appointed, would always have served to have kept them in all devotion and subjection. In the same part of your letter your Majesty taketh hold of my words written to the LL. in October, to diminish your numbers to 2000 of all sorts. It may please you, therefore, to consider of my words, which were these, "and I see no reason, but if Her Majesty keep 2000 "soldiers, without which obedience or profit will not be had "of English or Irish in Ireland, why 1300 of them should "not for the more part reside in Ulster." This was, and is still, my opinion, and I hope cannot be construed, but

these soldiers were meant English bands, and not to be extended to wards, officers, or kerne, which are neither at commandment, nor can be employed but in their charges. Besides, I never took upon me to set down my opinion of the government of the whole realm, wherewith I neither had to do, nor with your favor will have to do, but only of my charge; and, therefore, I trust my words have not procured this great dismissment of your Majesty's army. But now I will say directly that which before I only spoke conjecturally, that 2000 English soldiers under bands well maintained will be enough to govern the whole realm, and to make all that be rebels, or that be of the Irish factions, to quail, and either to be good subjects, or to seem good subjects.

In the latter part of your Majesty's said letter, you find fault with the number kept under me, commanding none more to be paid with your treasure than are warranted from your Majesty: whereunto I think good to answer, that I have entertained for the defence of all Ulster no more than I had for Clandeboye, saving 30 Irish horsemen under the Baron of Dungannon, whom it behoved your Majesty to aid and countenance: and such bands of kerne as were necessary for your service; for in Clandeboye I had 200 horsemen and 600 footmen; I had 100 allowed for the sea, whereof I have used but 50; I had 100 pioneers, whereof I used but 50, and now lately but 30; and for all these I trust I had your Majesty's warrant. Indeed, upon the death of Sir Thomas Smith's son, I gave Mr. Moore, your Majesty's pensioner, some countenance in the Ardes, by a few men in wages, and after maintained a ward in his house when he was slain; and in this, and whatsoever else in such like cases I have done, I trust to shew good reasons to move me to do it for your Majesty's service.

And now I must confess, and never before, that your charge is utterly lost, since the enterprize is dissolved. And I dare avow that, if the enterprize had gone forward, the money which you have spent had been the best employed that your Majesty spent in Ireland, and is now the worst: which I fear will shortly appear, for the Irish here have now good reason never to look for reformation, and never to trust to your Majesty's protection, but to combine themselves; for their common objection is, especially they of Tyrconnel, that they are always left without defence and to their shifts; for so O'Donell termed it to me, who is now in open war by my means against Tirlogh, and must indeed be left to extremity. I send your Majesty his letters, and such as I received out of Scotland, declaring the coming of the Scots. There resteth now that I make my protestation that I am in no way consenting or do allow of this going back of your northern services. And since there hath not been at any time any defects in me, but I have been called from the enterprize of Clandeboye to the defence of the whole province of Ulster, wherein I have served your Majesty without entertainment, painfully and truly, to your honor, surety of this state, and defence of your subjects, I mistrust not but Your Majesty will both of your justice and bounty graciously consider of my intolerable charges past; and above all things to retain me in your Majesty's good opinion, as your humble servant, devoted and most affectionate to serve your Majesty any way that I can.

And being now altogether private, I do desire your Majesty's good licence so to live in a corner of Ulster, which I hire for my money; where though I may seem to pass my time somewhat obscurely, a life, my case considered, fittest for me, yet shall it not be without some stay in these parts, and comfort to such as hoped to be rid from the tyranny of

rebels. And so praying for your Majesty's happy reign, with a long healthful life, I humbly end at Dublin this last of March, 1575.

Your Majesty's most humble servant,
W. ESSEX.

However satisfactory this result may have been to the enemies of the Earl of Essex, it appears to have been equally unexpected and unwelcome to the Queen, who immediately wrote a letter jointly to the Deputy and Essex, dated 8th April, and another to Essex, of which last the draft was sent by Secretary Smith to Lord Burghley for his approval. The Secretary says it is written "to my Lord of Essex, to encourage "him;" and begs Burghley, if it does not carry out the meaning as fully as was intended, "to pen it as "he would." The corrections made by Burghley are merely verbal.

No. XVII.[1]

The Queen to Essex.

Right trusty and well beloved Cousin, we greet you well. We have received your letter of the last of March, in the which you seem very much to lament the dissolution of the enterprize of Ulster, and to be greatly discouraged thereby. Touching which matter, although we think that you might be fully satisfied by our last letters now sent the 8th April, that it was a thing unlooked for of us, mistaken, and which we could in no wise like, namely, that so much money by us employed upon so good an enterprize should, upon such a

[1] S. P. O.

sudden, be altogether lost, as it should have been indeed,—as you do wisely write,—if now it should be relinquished and forsaken: yet for your more satisfaction we have thought good to signify unto you, that by all your actions, your wise behaviour and constancy in them, your pains and travails sustained by yourself bodily, the great charge that you have been at in your private expenses, and consuming of your revenues and patrimony in our service, and for the attaining of honor by virtue and travail, we have great cause to think you a rare treasure of our realm, and a principal ornament of our nobility; we wish daily unto God we had many such; and are sorry that in any thing you should be discouraged, or have any suspicion that we should have any sinister interpretation of your doings, which we confess to have been hitherto bold and courageous, full of virtue and manliness, and for your years and experience as wise and discreet as ever any noble man was. Yet careful we be, and must always be of you, and fearful that any mishap should chance unto you; or that this enterprize which you have begun, to reduce Ulster to obedience, should not have that end and good success, which we do see well that you do propound as your butt and mark to bring it unto, and to which we doubt not you will bend all your forces of wit and industry. But what success soever it shall have, for the success of all things do lie only in the will of God, and not in man's purposes and labours, we must needs have a great good opinion of you for your travails, charges, and pains, and consequently consideration of them hereafter, as a thankful prince ought to have: whereof you may be bold to assure yourself, and all such your friends as would be glad thereof, which be, you may be bold, for your rare virtues and noble courage, a great number. At St. James', the 11th day of April, 1575.

Essex might well say that he "finds such con-

" tentation in these letters, as easeth away all griefs " together with their causes," for it rarely occurs to a subject to receive such praises from his sovereign. Burghley says to Walsingham on this occasion, "God " send him as good speed as though he were mine " own son." Immediately on the receipt of Essex's letters, Elizabeth wrote to the Deputy and the Earl, expressing her surprise and displeasure at the course followed, ordering the Deputy immediately, by proclamation and letters, to make it known he had mistaken his orders, and to proceed to reduce Ulster to good order. This letter arrived at Dublin on the 23rd April, and on the 28th Essex resumed the government of Ulster.

The Lord Deputy had got himself into a scrape, which is not surprising, if it be correct, as Essex writes to Burghley, that my Lady (Fitz-William) decided that he and his men should be cashed, and that she was in fact the Governor of Ireland.

The Archbishop of Dublin urges the policy of making Essex Deputy, and regrets that Fitz-William has not been recalled before the dissension between them is so grown that no show of friendship is left.

The next letter, undated, but of the end of April, is from the Queen to Essex, in reply to a former one of his to the Council.

No. XVIII.[1]

The Queen to Essex.

Right trusty and well beloved Cousin, greeting. Having seen certain offers[2] and requests made by you unto our Deputy in your letter of the 15th of this present directed to our Council, by the which you do not only shew yourself providently careful to avoid the inconvenience that might have ensued by the sudden giving over of the enterprize for the reformation of Ulster, but also, for the preventing of such mischiefs as were likely to ensue thereby, was content to spoil yourself of that reputation that birth and desert hath cast upon you, offering to serve under our Deputy there in place not answerable to your state and calling; for which most dutiful kind of dealing towards us, the same appearing most evidently to proceed of a singular and an extraordinary zeal and devotion you bear towards us, we could not in honor but by our letters make known unto you in what great good part we accept the same, and how sorry we were to see your honorable mind wounded with so just cause of grief as seemeth to have grown of our Deputy's over-strait dealing towards you, to whom we have by our letters presently sent unto him signified how greatly we do mislike the same; as also commanded him not only to further hereafter your service to the uttermost of his power, but also to seek by all the means he may to repair the decay of your reputation and credit, that lately hath ensued by his hasty and violent breaking of the said enterprize; wherein our hope is that he will so deal,

[1] S. P. O. The Queen's sign manual is at the head of this letter, a rare occurrence.

[2] The offers alluded to in the letter were, to serve under the Deputy, if he would undertake the execution of the service: to make over all his soldiers to the Deputy till the Queen's pleasure were known; in short, to do anything rather than discharge the troops, and discredit the Queen and state: all of which offers the Deputy rejected.

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upon this our advertisements given him, as our service shall be furthered, your honor repaired, and the disagreement that appeareth to be between you removed.

The Queen in her letter to the Deputy of the 5th May[1] says, that she is loth to condemn him unheard, and commands his answer forthwith; she suspects his conduct proceeds from a dislike to the Earl; that she greatly mislikes that the Deputy has not called the Earl to his councils since the refusal of his offers, and peremptorily orders him not only to further the Ulster service to the uttermost of his power, but to use all measures to repair the decay of his reputation and honour through the strange kind of dealing that hath lately passed.

On the 8th May, Essex thanks Burghley for his "godly advice, and as your counsel is necessary for "all men, because in the course of our lives God's "glory is to be preferred, so, in the profession wherein "I live, I acknowledge that the chances and perils of "war ought to remember me of my duty continually "herein; and the example of such a life in a General "shall also in some policy breed obedience in the "soldier; and since God is ever the God of Hosts, I "trust He will give me His grace, and make me an "instrument with this small company, with whom I "serve, to further His glory, the Queen's honor, and "the wealth of our country."[2]

Captain Malbie arrived at Dublin on the 5th May with treasure; and writing on the 9th, says, "and

[1] S. P. O. [2] S. P. O.

"because my Lord Deputy hath been earnestly "busied these three or four days past in causes of "great weight, he could have no convenient time of "conference with my Lord of Essex until this day, "at which time I delivered unto them both a message "from Her Majesty, which it pleased her highness to "command me upon my allegiance to signify unto "them, and declared withal your LL. admonitions "for the entertaining of the amity betwixt them. "They both very wisely and honorably did obey "unto Her Majesty's will and pleasure, as also unto "your LL. good advices and counsels, and, without "any rehearsal of things past, have embraced mu- "tual friendship, with solemn vowing to live as good "friends, and the one to help and assist the other to "the uttermost of their powers, especially in respect "of Her Majesty's service."[1]

Waterhouse, writing concerning the Earl and his affairs, tells Burghley that, "howsoever he hath seemed "discontented in his letters, he hath used it here with "great modesty and reverence to the State; and now "that he seeth his credit repaired and the enterprise "proceed, I find him so inclinable to forget former "discourtesies, as there is no doubt, but with any "reasonable usage, my Lord Deputy may reconcile "him to join in former friendship."

On the 14th May, Essex left Dublin to resume his building operations on the Blackwater.

I have given the correspondence of this period at

[1] S. P. O.

greater length than may, perhaps, appear necessary, in order to shew the extraordinary vacillations in the councils of Elizabeth, which can only be accounted for by supposing that she changed her opinions, according as Leicester or Burghley had her ear. One would imagine that the affairs of the Earl were now about to prosper, and that his difficulties were past; but it will appear, by the succeeding letter from the Queen, that at the very time when, by her orders, he was resuming his position in Ulster, a death-blow was being prepared at home. On the 22nd May she wrote to tell him that, notwithstanding all she had written in her late letters, and all the assurances that he had received through Malbie, she never had any intention to prosecute the Ulster enterprize.

No. XIX.[1]

The Queen to Essex.

Right trusty and right well beloved Cousin, we greet you well. Whereas it may seem somewhat strange unto you, considering our late commandment given unto you to resume the government of Ulster lately given over by you, as also to proceed in your former enterprize, that we should now be of another opinion; we thought good, for your better satisfaction in this behalf, to discover unto you that in very deed, notwithstanding our said commandment, we had no meaning that you should proceed in the service, otherwise than we thought it necessary for a time, in respect of the danger you laid before us of a general revolt, to will you to resume the said

[1] S. P. O.

government, and to proceed in the enterprize; which thing we would not have concealed from you, but that we doubted that the knowledge thereof might have quite discouraged you from proceeding therein; whereof there might have followed presently some dangerous issue, if, by a new resumption of the government of that province, the same should not have been prevented. But now having more just occasion of late to look more inwardly into our estate at home, and finding great cause for us to forbear the prosecution of your enterprize, not for that we have any cause at all to mislike the same, or to doubt of the likelihood of the good success thereof, either for that the matter was not well digested, or should not be by you well executed, if other respects did not most necessarily draw us from the proceeding therein; we thought it very convenient to dispatch this bearer secretly unto you, to give you notice thereof, to the end you may, upon knowledge of the same, direct the course of your proceedings in such sort, as the enterprize may yet be so given over as our honor may best be salved: the safety of such as depend on us in some good sort provided for: and that province left in that state, so far forth as shall lie in you, as there may follow no such alteration as may disquiet the rest of that our realm. And for that upon conference with certain of our Council, we find it hard for us here, not seeing the true state of things there, to prescribe unto you any certain form how the same may best be done, we thought it most expedient to refer it to your own good consideration, and when you shall have so yourself thoroughly resolved on the course that you think best in your opinion to be taken, as also conferred therein with our Deputy, then would we have you with all convenient speed advertize us of the same, and yet in the mean time knowing our disposition in this behalf, to direct your proceedings accordingly. And so for some other points, referring you to such secret instructions

as shall be delivered to this bearer, to be communicated unto you, signed by certain of our Privy Council, we end. Given at our manor of St. James, the 22nd May, 1575.

The minute of the instructions alluded to, sent by Mr. Ashton, contains assurances to the Earl of Her Majesty's goodwill towards him, — refers the mode of breaking off the enterprise to his judgment, — desires him to confer with the Lord Deputy, — to make conditions with Tirlogh Lenoghe, — and to preserve the provisions carefully.

The Earl received this letter at Drogheda, and expresses his resignation to the Queen's will in a letter to the Privy Council.

No. XX.[1]

Essex to the Privy Council.

It may please your LL. I have received a letter from H. M. by Mr. Ashton, and have seen his instructions from your LL., both leading to one conclusion. And because that which I have formerly written hath been allowed for reason, and that your LL. seem not to have consented hereunto but by some great necessity, I must content myself to see the ruin of my work; but let it be so far off, as in the fall it crush me not, either in credit or otherwise. If this kind of dealing had been used long since, it would better have satisfied me, and I had long before this time yielded to H.M. will, and should not have conceived so jealously of the Lord Deputy as I have done; but I see he hath borne the part in the cool of the morning, and I began at noon, and must endure the heat of the day; and, indeed, it is better

[1] S. P. O.

that he and I should part it, than that H. M., or such stays of her estate as you be, should bear any part of the burthen. But I have to accuse you all of unkindness, that it was not directly discovered to me sooner. If your LL. think I have had a wrong, then I beseech you all do me this right; help, that my state be no worse than it was when I first took this in hand. I have spent great sums in this service of Her Majesty and my country; I have brought myself in debt, both to the Queen and to others for the same; I have sold my land, and have been encouraged to spend and spoil myself in an action which, as it now appears, was never intended to be performed; and yet your LL. know I have had letters from H. M., and most of your LL. to the contrary. And because my conscience cannot accuse me that I have in this action deserved ill of H. M., of the realm, or of any of your LL. particularly, I do the rather complain to yourselves of yourselves. And now that I have opened my griefs, I am ready to obey H. M. will, and do thank your LL. for this, that I have time given me to work some good conclusion. I hope you will also be careful of that which I weigh above all worldly wealth, which is my credit.

Touching my opinion for proceeding in this course now appointed, I have delivered my meaning, by way of instruction, to Mr. Ashton, and shall gladly confer further therein with my Lord Deputy, with whom I shall meet to-morrow. And so referring the rest to the bearer, who seeth in what readiness I am to begin my journey, I commit your LL. to God; at Drogheda, the 1st June, 1575.

Writing at the same time to Walsingham, he says that the letters he receives from Her Majesty are for the most part full of comfort:—"I impute much to "Her Majesty's good-nature, and somewhat to the "affection of the writer (Walsingham himself), and

" therefore will not keep from you your due thanks. " If in the midst of this good opinion that Her " Majesty seemeth to conceive, and of all the friend- " ships promised among yourselves, my causes stand " at a stay, and be not speedily ordered, I will cry, " *ingrata patria.*"[1]

The Earl of Essex immediately followed the instructions he had received for breaking off his enterprise. He entered into articles with Tirlogh Lenoghe, after having compelled him to sue for peace. He completed the fort on the Blackwater, which he says " doth contain within the trench twelve score yards " in circuit, and is made square, flanked with two " bulwarks; may conveniently contain 200 men, and " be defended by 50 against any enemy of Ulster."

Next follow two letters from Essex, describing his proceedings in pursuance of those orders; the second contains a very spirited account of the taking of the Island of Raghlin.

No. XXI.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

It may please your most excellent Majesty. According to my meaning declared in my last letters sent by William Carey, I marched from Dromore the 6th of this month, towards Clandeboye, against such Scots and Irish as were confederated there. And as I was ready to enter the woods of Kilwarlin, Neil McBrian Ertagh, being chief captain of those of Clandeboye and the Ardes, sent unto me for peace,

[1] S. P. O. [2] S. P. O

declaring that though he were prepared to annoy me, and should therein have good assistance of Sorley boy[1] and the Scots, yet he desired to be received to favour, and to take such portion of land as I would assign unto him. Whereunto I hearkened, and sent the Serjeant Major Mr. Malbie unto him, with instructions from me; and after a little conference they agreed. Whereupon articles passed in writing betwixt me and him, the copy whereof I send unto your Majesty; wherein, amongst other things concerning his allegiance, he covenanteth to pay unto your highness for a small portion of land, being neither of Clandeboye nor the Ardes, one hundred cows by year, and a rising out of horsemen and footmen to the number of 92; and, for performance of all the articles, he put me in three good and sufficient pledges, and answered me to my late journey against the Scots with the rising out contained in the articles.

The next day the Captain of Killulto made like offer for his country, being a woodland and strong fastness; whereupon also I made such end as may appear in the articles betwixt him and me, sent to your Majesty also herewith.

This done, I marched through the woods to Massareen, where I was by my espials advertized that the Scot had left the Glinnes, and carried all his cattle to a strong fastness near the Bann, to which place I removed presently. Sorley was there, accompanied with Brian Carrogh, whose dwelling is most in Tyrone, and yet manureth and feedeth upon the land on this side the river. They shewed themselves upon a hill, and were viewed and judged to be to the number of 900 and upwards; they put out to procure skirmish with my vaward, wherein I was, 80 horsemen, whereof I might see divers light on foot, and take their pieces of their boys: these came upon a bog, and discharged certain shot upon our vaward, wherewith they killed two horses. When I saw this, and

[1] Sorley the younger.

knew by such as had viewed the ground that this bog was by long drought dry and passable for horsemen, I sent 50 horsemen to cut betwixt them and their battle, which Sorley perceiving, came down in great haste to rescue his men with all his force; and I, being at hand with such force as I had, for my rearward was not yet come into the camp, made head against him, that forced him to make a sudden stay, and retire himself to his fastness, leaving his men to the slaughter which he saw executed, so as I had presently twenty-one of their heads.

The next morning I put 500 men into the wood with their captain, committing the principal charge to the Serjeant Major. They were no sooner entered the wood, than the Scots resisted, and fought a while very valiantly; but they were soon put to flight with the loss of 100 by their own confession, besides a number deadly hurt, whereof Sorley his son was one; nevertheless, they maintained skirmish all that day, and most with the rearward, where the Serjeant Major was. Of your soldiers were slain only three and an officer, and two officers hurt: the one lieutenant to Captain John Norreys, shot through the shoulder with a Scottish arrow, and yet liveth and shall do well: the other stricken with a bullet, died within two days, and was lieutenant to my cousin Bourchier.

In the mean time I kept with the horsemen in the plains, near to the woodside, where I had the killing of some kerne, which were driven out by the footmen, that so dispersed them on every side, and so hardly followed them unto the Bann side, as they had the killing of them swimming in the river over to Tyrone's side, both horsemen and footmen; having newly put over all their cattle, which our men could not lay hands on, nor pass over the river after them, by reason that there was but one ford passable, and that for horsemen only; upon which there was a fort made by Brian

Carrogh on Tyrone's side, and was at that time guarded with twenty Scots.

Within two days after we searched all the woods, and in conclusion all places where I could imagine any Scots could remain; but I found not one Scot, nor any of this country birth, in the whole country of Clandeboye, the Rowte, and the Glinnes, that made resistance.

In the beginning of my journey, I purposed to have revictualled at the Bann, to which place I had appointed the beer and biscuit which was sent from Dublin long since; but, the winds being contrary, the shipping did not arrive there, so as I was forced to come away by extreme want; and now, having had conference with the victuallers for my journey into these parts, they cannot furnish my company not for fourteen days.

It seemed strange to me that, contrary to Tirlogh Lenoghe's profession to me, and open proclamation made by himself, nevertheless he suffered the Scots peaceably to pass the Bann, and therefore I did send unto him to know how he would answer it. My messenger is now returned with letters which I send unto your Majesty. Although I have cause by many circumstances to think there was no evil meaning in him, because I know there is some blood drawn betwixt the Scots and him, yet his excuse is insufficient, because I gave him reasonable warning of my coming to the Bann; but I perceive he is in great fear that I should break the peace on this occasion, which is no part of my meaning. I have returned his messenger with comfortable speeches.

I have also received a letter from O'Donell very dutiful to your Majesty, which I send you also herewith enclosed.

Sorley boy doth send to me in manner daily for peace, and to be suffered to enjoy that land which he saith was once granted to him in my Lord Chamberlain's time of govern-

ment; but having no commission to deal with him, I forbear to do any thing in that matter. In my return from Clandeboye, having left all the country desolate and without people, I offered Brian Ertagh to be farmer of that country. His answer was, that his people were few, his cattle less, and that with striving to defend it from me, his husbandmen were starved, dead, or run out of the country. And considering your Majesty had given it unto me he would not strive longer with me, but bade me take it and use it at my pleasure, and desired me to keep my promise with him in the rest according to his articles. And at this time there is neither he nor any man in Clandeboye claimeth property in any thing, whereby your Majesty may see what this people are when they are roughly handled.

There resteth now that your Majesty do send your speedy resolution what you will have done with these parts. Your peace is universal with all Ulster, saving the Scots; for as Tyrone is restrained from having to do on the other side of the rivers of Bann and Blackwater, so Mac Mahon, Magennis, the Galloglass, the O'Hanlons, the Captain of Killulto, and the Irish late of Clandeboye, being all under McBrian Ertagh, are now limited, and in assurance of their portions, and will, I think, rather continue peace than break it. All quarrels are also on their part ended, so as they make no claim either to Clandeboye or the Ardes, both which countries seem now ready to receive such government as you will appoint, if the Scots do not return. But as the Scots cannot be expelled without buildings and strong garrisons for a time, so the charge thereof being misliked, it is convenient for your Majesty to determine what order you will take for the northern bands, and that your determination be speedily sent to me.

I trust your Majesty will account of my travail, and receive it in as good part as if it had brought forth already

such fruits of civility as would have ensued of building and planting of English people. And next that your Majesty have good opinion of Sir Peter Carew, the Lord Norreys' sons, Mr. Malbie and Mr. Berkeley, and all other the captains and gentlemen that have spent their times here with me in this action: their pains undoubtedly have been great, and it will be no small comfort to me if your Majesty shall think well of them, that have been so long companions of my labors.

For all other things that may concern my particular, I refer them to your Majesty's consideration, and therein expecting your pleasure, I humbly end; at Drogheda this 22nd July, 1575.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

W. ESSEX.

No. XXII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

May it please your most excellent Majesty. When I had taken order for the breaking up of the camp, which I was forced to do by want of victuals, as I have by my last letters advertized your highness, I thought good, notwithstanding, to lose no opportunity that might serve to the annoying of the Scot, against whom only I have now to make war; and finding it a thing very necessary to leave a good garrison at Carrigfergus for that purpose, I appointed 300 footmen and 80 horsemen to reside there under the rule of Captain John Norreys, to whom I gave a secret charge, that having at Carrigfergus the three frigates, and wind and weather serving, to confer with the captains of them, and on the sudden to set out for the taking of the island of the Raghlins, with care in their absence to leave a sufficient guard for the keeping of

[1] S. P. O.

the town of Carrigfergus; and when I had given this direction, to make the Scots less suspicious of any such matter pretended, I withdrew myself towards the Pale, and Captain Norreys with his company to Carrigfergus, with my letters of direction unto the captains of the three frigates, which he found there ready for any service.

Captain Norreys, according to the instructions given him, upon his arrival called unto him the sea captains, and delivered unto them my letters, and farther declaring unto them my pleasure, spent some time in conference together about this enterprize, which they all found a matter so likely, as using the present time, and wind and weather well for their purpose, they concluded to take the matter in hand, and with all speed embarked their men. So on the 20th of this present July, taking with them all the small boats belonging to the town of Carrigfergus, they set out altogether, and being at seaboard they found the winds very variable, which made some division of their fleet; notwithstanding, they all so well guided themselves, as they met at the landing place of the Raghlins the 22d day in the morning at one instant, where they found they were discovered by the island men, who had put themselves in readiness with all their force to make resistance; which the captains and soldiers nothing regarding, did with valiant minds leap to land, and charged them so hotly, as they drave them to retire with speed, chasing them to a castle which they had of very great strength; and at the first charge was slain only one soldier. The Scots, being thus put into their fort, were presently environed with your Majesty's force; and thereupon the captains landed two pieces of great ordnance, which they brought with them for that purpose, and approached them to the castle, which they battered right upon the gate, where they made a breach; which being made, they assaulted the 25th day in the afternoon; but it was so

reinforced within, as after they had passed the bridge, the gate, and part of the entry, and not able to enter any farther without better provision, which they did foresee, they were compelled to retire for that time; where were slain at that assault but two soldiers, and eight were hurt; and within were slain, by good hap and the soldiers' stout service, the captain of the island and three of his soldiers, and six were hurt. After which small retire of our men, they set upon it again, and fired certain ramparts which the Scots had made of timber, against the determining another assault by the next break of day; but the slaughter of their chieftain, and the continual hurt that was done unto them so abated their pride, as before day they called for a parle, which Captain Norreys, wisely considering the danger that might light upon his company, and willing to avoid the killing of the soldiers, which in such cases doth often happen, although he saw the place likely enough to be taken with some loss of men, was content to accept the parle, and to hear their offers, so as the constable would come himself in person out unto him without delay to make his demands. And yet not agreeing that he should safely return to the castle, but only upon his word to stand to his hap; upon which he came out and made large requests, as their lives, their goods, and to be put into Scotland, which requests Captain Norreys refused, offering them as slenderly as they did largely require; viz. to the aforesaid constable his life only, and his wife's and his child's, the place and goods to be delivered at Captain Norreys' disposition, the constable to be prisoner one month, the lives of all within to stand upon the courtesy of the soldiers. The constable, knowing his estate and safety to be very doubtful, accepted this composition, and came out with all his company. The soldiers being moved and much stirred with the loss of their fellows that were slain, and desirous of revenge, made request, or rather pressed, to have the killing of them, which they

did all saving the persons to whom life was promised; and a pledge, which was prisoner in the castle, was also saved, who is son to Alexander Oge[1] Macalister Harry, who pretendeth to be a chief of the Glinnes, which prisoner Sorley boy held pledge for his father's better obedience unto him. There were slain that came out of the castle of all sorts 200; and presently news is brought me out of Tyrone that they be occupied still in killing, and have slain that they have found hidden in caves and in the cliffs of the sea, to the number of 300 or 400 more. They had within the island 300 kine, 3000 sheep, and 100 stud mares, and of bear corn upon the ground there is sufficient to find 200 men for a whole year.

When this was ended, Captain Norreys, taking the advice of the rest of the captains, finding the place both strong and fit to be kept for the service of your Majesty, which no doubt will greatly annoy the Scots, besides the keeping them out of this your highness's realm, hath appointed to leave a ward there of 80 soldiers, until he shall have farther directions from me, which I have thought good to allow of until I shall understand your Majesty's farther pleasure for the same, which, how necessary the keeping of it is, your highness may please to take knowledge of those of your Council that have served here, and best can judge of it, and accordingly to do your best liking. In my opinion, 100 men kept there, whereof 60 to remain on the island, and 40 to be employed to the sea, shall do your Majesty more service, both against the Scots and Irish, than 300 can do in any place within the north parts; that is my opinion, which I do not utter unto your Majesty as any persuasion for any further matter than shall be to your highness' liking, for that I know your determination for that enterprize I took in hand, but only in discharge of my duty, to declare my knowledge, referring all things to your highness's own good pleasure, which I am ready to obey.

[1] Oge, the younger.

The taking of this island upon the neck of the late service done upon the Scot, doth no doubt put him to his wit's end. There hath been also burned by your Majesty's frigates lately eleven Scottish galleys, so as by sea and by land they have as little left as I can give them.

Now I am to recommend unto your Majesty's good favour all your highness' captains and soldiers serving under me, who do so generally deserve well in all their actions, as I am bound generally to say, that for those who have served here some good time, and those that came over with me, be such as I do assure your highness no prince of Christendom can overmatch for so small a company; for neither travail, misery, adventure of life, nor any pain that can reasonably be laid on them for your Majesty's service, is by them refused at any time; but with as willing minds as any men can do, they think themselves happy when they may have any occasion offered them that is to do your highness acceptable service; and as I have had sundry proofs of them, and lately in the service done against the Scots in the fastness, and this now done in the Raghlins, so do I find them full willing to follow it until they shall have ended what your Majesty intendeth to have done.

Thus most humbly desiring your Majesty's resolution, I beseech Almighty God to send your highness a long and happy life, and victory on all your enemies. From the Newry, this last of July, 1575.

CHAPTER V.

LIFE OF WALTER, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PROGRESS, 1575. — HER LETTERS TO ESSEX. — POSTSCRIPT IN HER OWN HAND. — CONSENTS TO GIVE HIM THE OFFICE OF EARL MARSHAL OF IRELAND FOR LIFE. — ESSEX'S GENEROUS CONDUCT TOWARDS SIR W. FITZWILLIAM. — ESSEX ARRIVES IN WALES. — IS INVITED TO WINDSOR. — HIS LETTERS TO THE COUNCIL, THE QUEEN, AND BURGHLEY. — COOLNESS BETWEEN HIM AND BURGHLEY. — ANGER OF THE QUEEN. — RECONCILIATION. — ANXIETY OF LEICESTER TO REMOVE ESSEX. — ESSEX SELLS ESTATES. — LETTERS PATENT PASSED CREATING HIM EARL MARSHAL OF IRELAND, AND GRANTING TO HIM THE BARONY OF FARNEY, COUNTY MONAGHAN, AND MAC GUY'S ISLAND. — LETTER TO WALSINGHAM FROM HOLYHEAD.

THE year 1575 was that in which Queen Elizabeth partook of "the princely pleasures of Kenilworth;" and she was on that celebrated progress when she received the foregoing letters. The Countess of Essex had been one of the guests assembled to meet the Queen at Kenilworth, and afterwards had the honour of receiving her royal cousin at her husband's house of Chartley; from whence the Queen wrote to Essex, on the 6th of August, giving him hearty thanks for his great pains, and the wisdom, courage, and discretion with which he had conducted his matters, and with so small effusion of blood.

The Earl of Essex had some time before asked for the hereditary Earl Marshalship of Ireland to be granted to him, which the Queen refused; she now

says, "For the office and honour of the Earl Marshal, "although we do not use willingly to grant any such "office otherwise than during pleasure, yet we are "well-content to give it you during life."

To this letter Her Majesty added a postscript in her own hand and in a style so crabbed and obscure as almost to require a translation to make it intelligible. "If lines could value life, or thanks could answer "praise, I should esteem my pen's labour the best "employed time that many years hath lent me. "But to supply the want that both these carrieth, "a right judgment of upright dealing shall lengthen "the scarcity that either of the other wanted. Deem, "therefore, cousin mine, that the search of your "honour, with the danger of your breath, hath not "been bestowed on so ungrateful a prince that will "not both consider the one and reward the other. "Your most loving cousin and sovereign, E. R."[1]

From Dudley Castle, on the 12th of August, the Queen answered the "letter relating the capture of" Raghlin Island, which had given her great and singular contentment. She says, "If you knew what "comfort we take to have a subject of your quality, "—so assured unto us by bond of loyalty, whereof "we have always had so good a trial, and tied unto "us so nearly by affinity, a note of no small assur- "ance;—to grow in this time when the most part

[1] I regret to say that I have lost the reference to the original letters from which I copied these extracts. In Add. MSS. 323. 325. are copies of both this letter and that from Dudley of the 12th August.

" of men do give themselves over, as it were, a prey " unto delicacy;—to be so serviceable in a calling " whereof we may, in time to come, take so great " profit; you should then acknowledge that care, " and hazard, and travail, bestowed in the service " of a prince that maketh as thankful acceptation of " the same as any other prince that liveth."

When the attempt to subdue and settle Ulster was finally given up by the Queen, Essex, anxious not to lose utterly the time and money he had spent there, desired that he might receive, in lieu of all former grants, the barony of Farney, in the county of Monaghan, the island of Mac Guy, and the leading of 100 horse and 200 foot. To this the Queen replied, that Sir Henry Sidney was going over as Deputy, and on receiving his report she would decide. But Essex said, that as his object in going to Ireland was to do service to the Queen, and to win honour to himself, he desired not to receive her favours at a second hand, and stood as much upon the form as upon the matter.

Sir Henry Sidney, who landed in Ireland on the 8th of September, writes from Drogheda on the 28th. " So of the Earl I must say he is so noble and " worthy a personage, so forward in all his actions, " and complete a gentleman, wherein he may either " advance your honor or service, as you may take " comfort to have in store so rare a subject, who " hath nothing in greater regard than to shew him- " self such an one indeed as common fame reporteth " of him, which hath been no more in truth than

" his due deserts and painful travels in the hardest " part of this miserable county have deserved."[1]

Sir Henry then recommends that the Earl's desire may be complied with, as he will then consider himself rewarded and not forgotten, while his being in Farney will greatly defend the Pale. " Touching " his other demand for Mac Guy's Island, your " Majesty may esteem that you have made a good " purchase for yourself to have such a tenant; who, " besides obedience—which is rather to be desired " than generally looked for in these parts—may in " time, by building, planting, and settling there, " draw such a consent and liking of others to fancy " his neighbourhood, as benefit may grow to your " coffers, honour to your realm, and safety to many " of your good subjects."

On the 28th September[2], Lord Essex wrote to Burghley, that having been very desirous to receive some answer to his former letters, in which he has been disappointed, and being left as he was and had been " of long time to his own advice," he has resolved to accept whatever offer may be made him, and hopes, when his accounts are passed, that he shall henceforth live an untroubled life, and be again at the devotion of his friends.

The Earl's service in Ireland was now virtually at an end, and we may briefly review its results. He had expended, in addition to his debt to the Queen of

[1] Letters and Memorials of the Sidneys, by Arthur Collins, vol. i. p. 71.
[2] S. P. O.

10,000*l.*, not less than 25,000*l.*[1], in return for which he received a grant of the barony of Farney and the honorary distinction of Earl Marshal of Ireland, poor repayment for the sacrifice of youth, health, and fortune. It appears that, notwithstanding all the brave words and flattering expressions of regard lavished on him by his royal mistress, she never fully appreciated his dignified, firm, generous, and gentle character. In a public view his expedition was of very slight use: he had checked the rebellious chieftains of Ulster, and guarded the borders of the English Pale from their ravages; but no sooner had he gained an advantage which promised, if followed up, to be of permanent utility, than he was thrown back by some counter orders from home. An unseen but evil influence was ever at hand to thwart his best attempts; and although he left Ulster quiet, no sooner had he departed than rebellion broke out again.

The nobility of his character cannot be better displayed than by extracting from his letter to Burghley his expressions towards Sir William Fitzwilliam, on the departure of that officer, whom he had always considered as the author of his ill success. "I need "not say anything of the gentleman to your Lord-"ship, but that I am glad, both in his own behalf "and mine, that we are become private. If malice "now, either here or at home, shall procure him such "a welcome as is incident to the governors of this

[1] See Appendix A. for some account of the Earl's expenses in Ireland, from which it will appear at what a ruinous cost Essex carried out this attempt to plant Ulster.

" realm, then, in my opinion, he hath wrong; and it " is an injury to all such as gave their allowance of " his first choice to this place, whereof I have said as " much as becometh me to Her Majesty; therefore, " as you have hitherto thought well of him, and he " extended the uttermost of his own ability to serve " Her Majesty, so I wish that your Lordship will still " so use your favour, as he seem not to have made " shipwreck of a service that hath been tied to so " many cares and troubles."[1] This was a real practical application of the first of Christian virtues.

In his late letters to Lord Burghley, Essex had frequently expressed the satisfaction with which, after his "exile," he looked forward to the "contentation" which he should find "at home:" he lost no time in winding up his affairs, and in little more than a month after the final settlement of his future position in Ireland, he was on his way to England. On the 10th November, Walsingham writes to Burghley from Windsor:—"I met with a messenger sent from " the Earl of Essex with letters to Her Majesty, by " the which he did give Her Majesty to understand " that he hath arrived within this country, and that " he presently desired that he might have leave to " come to see Her Majesty: whereupon Her Majesty " willed me to signify unto him that she was glad " of his arrival, and was well pleased that he should " repair to the Court, with condition that with over " much haste he did not distemper his body. By his

[1] S. P. O., 10th October 1575.

" servant I learn, that on Monday last he did mean " to set forth from a house he hath in South Wales, " not far from the place where he landed, so that I " judge he will be here within five or six days."[1] By order of the Queen, Sir Francis returned the following answer to Essex's application.

No. XXIII.[2]

Walsingham to Essex.

My very good Lord. After Her Majesty's perusing of your letters, who seemed greatly to rejoice at your safe arrival, she willed me to signify unto you, first, that touching the not answering your letters sent by Mr. Berkeley, the same proceeded, for that she daily attended the coming of Sir W. Fitzwilliam, with whom she thought it convenient to confer before the yielding of her answer. And as touching your voyage over, she doth very well allow thereof, from the respect mentioned in your letters; and is glad to understand that, after so dangerous a passage, you are so safely arrived, whose access shall be no less acceptable unto her, than desired of you. Notwithstanding, for that she understandeth that your Lordship hath been greatly tormented on the sea, which hath bred some indisposition of body in you, and therefore very necessarily require some time of repose, she would not have you make more speed than may stand with the good health of your distempered body. She saith that it is now high time, after so long and continual a travail of both body and mind, you should enjoy some release thereof, for that the best bows, by being overlong bent, do slack of the string. In conclusion, I find Her Majesty's affection towards your Lordship such as your best friends can desire;

[1] S. P. O. [2] S. P. O.

RUINS OF LANFEY PALACE, IN 1740. (From Buck's Views.)

and therefore, of mine own particular opinion, I would wish you to stay no longer. . . . . And so, wishing to your L. a more prosperous journey hitherward than you had passage over the sea, I most humbly take my leave.

The house of Essex near which he landed was Lanfey [1], afterwards the favourite residence of his son before he became a courtier.

It is probable, from the last words of Sir Francis's letter, that stress of weather had driven the Earl to land in Pembrokeshire instead of at Liverpool, which was the usual place of landing from Ireland, and from whence he would have visited his family at Chartley on his road to the Court. It was by no means intended, on the part of those who had induced him to volunteer his services in Ireland, that he should now live in "contentation" at home; for we very soon find by his correspondence, that the terms on which he was to return thither were under the consideration of the Council, to whom he addressed the following letter.

No. XXIV.[2]

Essex to the Privy Council.

It may please your Lordships. Because I know this Christmas time altogether dedicated to pastimes, and,

[1] Lanfey, a corruption of Llanfydd, the church of St. Faith; from an early period an episcopal residence of the Bishops of St. David's; in 38 Henry VIII. it was alienated by Bishop Barlow in favour of his godson, Richard Devereux, and granted to him by the King by writ of privy seal, to be held by him and his heirs for ever, by knight's service and payment of 3*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* per annum. Soon after the death of Robert, second Earl of Essex, it passed into the possession of the Orielton family.

[2] S. P. O.

therefore, unapt for such as be suitors, I thought it a most convenient season for me to withdraw myself hither somewhat to think upon mine own estate, by conference with such of my officers as have had dealings for me in mine absence, by whom I find how heavy mine Ireland service hath been to me, by consideration of mine expenses past, my debts present, and the danger that my lineage resteth in, if order be not presently taken in it. I find also my servants in household many, and more than I am willing to continue about me; yet such as I cannot well upon the sudden dispense, and some of them necessary to be maintained, if Her Majesty do employ me in the country from whence I came. These causes do move me now to trouble your Lordships, and to entreat you all to be suitors with Her Majesty to grow to some speedy resolution in that which shall be determined concerning me; for upon that determination resteth the course of my life hereafter. For mine own part I will not think upon any form of Her Majesty's bounty towards me, or limit your Lordships how to deal for me, because I know Her Majesty to be a prince of great consideration, and your Lordships careful to repair my ruins. And very comfortable it is to me, that both Her Majesty and you have so well accepted of my service. Therefore my petition intendeth not to increase Her Majesty's favors, which I find already far above my deserts, or to better your dispositions, which I know are careful of my causes; but only to entreat you to procure me expedition, and to think upon this, that if Her Majesty employ me in Ireland, as may be gathered upon such letters as both the Lord Deputy and I have received, then it will be a great hindrance to the service, and somewhat to my own particular, if the buildings intended by me in Farney be not begun this spring. I will trouble your LL. no longer, but will hope for Her Majesty's speedy resolution; and so do

commit you to God. At Durham House[1], the 29th December, 1575.

Your Lordships' humbly at commandment,

W. ESSEX.

On the 9th January, 1576, he again addresses the Council on the same subject, craving their pardon if he shall trouble them more than is convenient, but begging a speedy resolution, which, if it be such as shall repair his torn estate, and enable him to live in that calling which birth, or Her Majesty, has laid upon him, it shall be most honourable for Her Majesty and beneficial for him to have speedily.

No. XXV.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

It may please your most excellent Majesty. Since my departure from your presence, I have bestowed my time here partly in view of my own poor estate, which I find far altered from that it was at my departure into Ireland, and partly in preparations of myself unto such service in that realm, as both your Majesty hath already assigned unto me, and which your Deputy, being made acquainted with your grant, hath thought meet to be confirmed for the better government and quiet of that your Majesty's country. Nevertheless, finding that my ability to serve you, or to maintain that estate whereunto your Majesty hath called

[1] Originally the town house of the Bishops of Durham; it was conveyed by Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, to Henry VIII., and remained in the hands of Elizabeth. At her death the Bishop of Durham obtained its restitution. It was the first house on the south side of the Strand, next to Ivy Bridge. The Adelphi stands upon the site of Durham House.

[2] S. P. O.

me, resteth much upon your gracious dealings with me for my charge past, I have, upon the comfort of your Majesty's former favorable writings and speeches, been bold to press the Lords of your Privy Council to be earnest with your Majesty for your speedy resolution concerning me. How far they have proceeded, or how far your Majesty's affairs have suffered you to think upon my private case: having received no answer from their LL., I know not. But, because it cannot be but that your Majesty seeth as deeply into my expenses, and to the extremities wherein I stand, as any other can do, I hope, therefore, that your Majesty will graciously accept of this mine humble petition, now offered to your own person, namely, to beseech you to shape some gracious resolution speedily for me, assuring myself that your Majesty that hath uttered so honorable speeches of me and my service — that hath stopped my course upon your own motion, not without some blemish of my credit — who might have prevented with your only commandment both your charges and mine in the beginning, will now so deal in the end as may increase my duty and prayer for you, and enlarge your own fame for cherishing your nobility, and rewarding of true service; wherein, nevertheless, I prescribe no order of your bounty, but must rest well satisfied with your Majesty's determination, so it be speedy and certain. God preserve your Majesty, to whose protection I commit both you and my cause.

At Durham House the 13th January, 1576.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

W. ESSEX.

From the other letters of this time we collect that a coolness arose between Burghley and Essex; the former conceived that the Earl was too pertinacious in his demands for a speedy settlement of his affairs;

and Essex, chafed by the delay, had hinted some doubts whether his friends were as warm in his behalf as their words betokened. It appears, also, that the Queen had made certain offers, which Essex declined to accept, whereat Her Majesty was offended. The style of his letter stating his reasons for not accepting her proposal was too lofty; and Burghley, to whom after their reconciliation he submitted it, added, as he says, "many things to humiliate the style."

The next letter to Secretary Walsingham may have reference to this offer.

No. XXVI.[1]

Essex to Walsingham.

Sir, — Since the writing of my first letter to my Lord Treasurer, whereof I sent you the copy by Mr. Malbie, I wrote you a second, which I send you enclosed, which, together with some conference that hath passed betwixt us, hath bred a renewing of friendship, and thereupon his L. seemeth very desirous to further me in all that he can.

He advised me to write a letter to Her Majesty, to declare the reasons that moved me not to accept her offer; wherein he required, that after I had set down my devise, the letter might be sent him to consider of; to which counsel I yielded; and did thereupon write a letter of the same effect as this which now I send to Her Majesty; but he hath added many things to humiliate my style, and to apply myself more to Her Majesty's disposition than in mine own devise I had set down. And because he gave me a secret watchword, that Her Majesty would have me beholden to none but to herself,

[1] S. P. O.

I did the rather insert the last clause both of her former promise so to deal with me, and of the abasing of her liberality when it came not frankly.

This I refer to your own judgment, whereupon I do so much rely; as, if you think I am entered into an error, I suppress my letter, and use it at your discretion; and so referring the rest to the credit of Captain Malbie, I commit you to God. At Durham House, this 3d Feb. 1576.

Your bounden friend,

W. Essex.

No. XXVII.[1]

Essex to Walsingham.

Mr. Secretary,—It hath come unto mine ears that Her Majesty hath taken great offence against me, for my not accepting of her late offers, and therefore I have taken upon me to write unto Her Majesty, that which I hope shall be to Her Majesty's full satisfaction; which letter I most heartily desire you to present unto Her Majesty, and to promise in my behalf that I will ever be ready to adventure my life, and to spend in Her Majesty's service every thing that her highness shall think good to bestow on me, or any thing that hath been left me by mine ancestors. But Her Majesty is to resolve for me quickly, for I am come to that pass as, my land being entangled to her, no man will give me credit for any money; and therefore I am presently to abandon the place. Above all things my desire is, that you will labour to keep me in Her Majesty's good favour, which I more regard than all that I have spent. And so I commit you to God. At Durham House, the 5th Feb. 1576.

Your most assured friend,

W. Essex.

[1] S. P. O.

A letter from Edward Waterhouse[1] to Sir Henry Sidney informs us that certain points had been referred to the Deputy, which partly accounts for the long delay in arranging the terms on which Essex was to return to Ireland. In this letter of the 21st March, 1576, Waterhouse acquaints Sir H. Sidney that, on the arrival of Mr. Giffard with his last letters, Mr. Philip Sidney accompanied the messenger to Lord Essex, and satisfied the Earl so well of the good intentions of the Deputy, that he the Earl, "then to them, and many times since "to me, hath uttered honorable speeches of you, "witnessing both his thankful acceptation and "willing mind to requite your Lordship with mutual "friendship. . . . . It seemeth your letters "to the Lords were not agreeable to the Earl of "Leicester's mind, whereby he took occasion of mis-"liking Mr. Giffard's despatch, and somewhat of "offence against you, as though your Lordship had "not made it apparent enough to Her Majesty or the "Lords that you earnestly wished the Earl's return. "And it seemed his Lordship would have had you "to have made some particular offer to the Earl of "Essex or to his friends. But your Lordship did "much better, and far more agreeable to my Lord of "Essex' mind, who, understanding of my Lord of "Leicester's conceit, did forthwith satisfy his Lord-"ship of your most friendly and effectual dealing."

This passage is remarkable as being the only evidence we possess of the anxiety of the Earl of

[1] Sidney Mem. vol. i. p. 147.

Leicester to procure the absence of Essex. Why he was so earnest, we cannot be positive; but as Lady Essex was a guest at Kenilworth in the preceding summer, and afterwards received the Queen, and of course Lord Leicester, at Chartley, it is possible that he might then have formed the attachment to that lady, so freely imputed to him by all the writers of the time; who, although in their enmity to Leicester, they hesitated not to accuse her of criminality without any proof, yet were not likely to advance a charge for which there was not some plausible foundation. Lady Essex, beautiful and high spirited, may easily be supposed to have requited her husband's continued absence and real or supposed neglect by encouraging the attentions of Leicester; but it is not credible that Sir Francis Knollys, the strict old Puritan,—who was always at the court, and who watched so carefully over his daughter, that at a later period he insisted on her being a second time united to Leicester in his presence, that he might be sure there was no deceit, such as had been before successfully practised on unfortunate ladies by that unscrupulous libertine,—would have been blind to, or seeing would have permitted, an intrigue to be carried on between them under his very eyes. Neither would Essex have maintained the semblance of friendship to Leicester as he did up to his departure the second time, had that nobleman been the seducer of his wife. But that such designs were entertained by Leicester is very probable, and his anxiety to remove her husband may thus be fairly accounted for.

These charges against Lord Leicester and Lady Essex rest chiefly on the authority of "Leicester's "Commonwealth." [1] That work, which was one of the most scurrilous and most audacious libels that was ever penned, accused them of still more atrocious crimes; but no assertion made in it is deserving of credit, unless it be confirmed by other testimony.

Another passage in the letter of Waterhouse already referred to shows how completely Essex had resolved in his own mind that Sir Philip Sidney should marry his daughter, Lady Penelope, who already began to show promise of that beauty which subsequently became so famous. Alas for her, that her father died, and the marriage was broken off; how much bitter grief might she have been spared! "Your Lordship's manner of writing as in bashful- "ness to offer any thing that might be refused, did "move the Earl of Essex to answer Mr. Philip, "your son, whom he by adoption calleth his, in "this sort ——."

The Earl of Essex endeavoured, during his stay in England, to bring his private affairs, which were much decayed, into some order. The expenses[2] of his Irish

[1] "The Copie of a Letter, wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambridge to his friend in London, concerning some talke paste of late between two worshipful and grave men, about the present state and some proceedinges of the Earl of Leicester and his friendes in England. Anno 1584, 12°;" suppressed by proclamation 1585, and republished 1641, under the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," by Richard Parsons, Jesuit.

[2] The State Paper Office contains a volume, "131, Ireland," of accounts of the Earl of Essex for six months from the last day of April to the first of November, 1575, containing the accounts of the receiver of the

adventure had left him in debt to the amount of 25,473*l.*, besides 10,000*l.* to the Queen. To diminish these, the manor of Aldrich in Staffordshire was sold as well as the following: —

Trelowia, West Anthony, and Landulp, Cornwall, valued at - - - -	£ 3500
Wekes Park, Essex - - - -	- 1400
Wokesey Park, Wilts - - -	- 400
Wakefield and Sandal Parks, - -	- 2200
And the four parks of Middleham, Yorkshire -	- 3000
	£ 10,500

Towards the middle of April these tedious negotiations terminated. The patent of Lord Essex as Earl Marshal of Ireland passed the Great Seal, and received the sign manual at Westminster on the 9th May, 1576[1]; and the territory of Farney[2] was granted to him, with Mac Guy's Island at the same time. Soon afterwards Essex went to Chartley, where he was occupied in arranging his affairs, as it would almost seem in anticipation of the fatal termination of his second visit to Ireland. From Holyhead, while waiting for a fair wind, he wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham on the subject.

Earl's estates in England, with the particular expenses of every department of the household, and the expenses of his soldiers and their victualling. In the Appendix B. are placed some extracts from this extremely curious volume.

[1] The patent of the office of Earl Marshal of Ireland is printed in Liber Hiberniæ, pars iv. p. 115.

[2] The original draft of the patent granting Farney to Lord Essex is in the S. P. O., with notes and corrections in Lord Burghley's writing.

No. XXVIII.[1]

Essex to Walsingham.

Good Mr. Secretary,—I have by this bearer sent the letter to Her Majesty whereof I send you the copy: I have sent it to Mr. Hatton, and requested him to deliver it, and also to certify me how Her Majesty doth accept of it. If Her Majesty shall take otherwise than well my plainness, I pray you be a means to persuade her. I see you have not taken the copy of my letter, and therefore I have sent it you. It may be that she will utter words of disliking of it, and make none privy of the contents; therefore, in that respect, I send the copy; if it should so fall out, then I wish that you would make Mr. Treasurer privy of it, and let him take it upon him, that I sent him the copy of my letter, and that it so came to your hands.

Since my coming from the Court, I have made some disposition of my lands, one part of the conveyance remaineth with myself, the other, my desire is, shall rest in your keeping. Broughton hath these to be delivered unto you, so soon as he hath gotten the act of the feoffees' hands to them. With the conveyance of my lands there is also my will; my earnest desire is, that you will take them into your custody.

The master of my ship calls for me away, therefore I am driven to make a short end. I commit you to God, and wish you as much honour and happiness, as I do to him that I wish best unto. In haste at Holyhead, the 18th July, 1576.

Your bounden friend,

W. ESSEX.

[1] S. P. O.

CHAPTER VI.

LIFE OF WALTER, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

RETURN OF ESSEX TO DUBLIN. — HE IS ATTACKED BY DYSENTERY. — ACCOUNT OF HIS SUFFERINGS. — HIS LETTERS OF FAREWELL TO THE QUEEN AND BURGHLEY. — HIS DEATH. — EDWARD WATERHOUSE ACCOMPANIES THE BODY TO CARMARTHEN. — PENELOPE DEVEREUX MARRIES LORD RICH. — SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AND LADY RICH LOVERS. — HER SUBSEQUENT LIAISON WITH LORD MONTJOYE. — HER DIVORCE, MARRIAGE TO DEVONSHIRE, AND DISGRACE. — LADY DOROTHY DEVEREUX. — HER CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE TO SIR THOMAS PERROTT. — SECOND MARRIAGE TO EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND. — WALTER DEVEREUX. — LADY ESSEX MARRIES LEICESTER, AFTERWARDS SIR CHRISTOPHER BLOUNT. — HER DEATH.

We now approach the last scene in the career of the ill-fated Essex. He had a favourable passage to to Dublin, was received with acclamation by his many friends and admirers; and the Lord Deputy being absent, passed the interval in visiting "sun-"dry of his friends." Mr. Richard Broughton writing to Mr. Bagot on the 26th August, gives the following account: "I received letters out of Ireland, "dated the 16th of this month, from my fellows "Vyse and Lloyd, advertising the good health of "my Lord; his embarking at Holyhead the 22nd "July; his landing at Dublin haven the 23rd; his "good welcome the same day by the citizens of "Dublin, and the gentlemen of the country that "came to him at his landing; the 24th feasted by

" the Chancellor; and his abode about Dublin till the " 9th August; invited to sundry of his friends, as " the Archbishop of Dublin and the Countess of " Kildare. The 8th day of August he travelled " towards the Lord Deputy, who was returning from " Connaught, and was greatly entertained by the " right noble Earl of Ormonde, at a house of the " Earl's, where the Earl came purposely to meet and " entertain my Lord. The morrow, the 10th August, " my Lord of Ormonde, with my Lord, met the Lord " Deputy about twenty-eight miles from Dublin, " where there was great shew of friendly salutations " of permanent friendships.

" At the Lord Deputy's coming to Dublin, he so- " lemnly caused my Lord's patents of Earl Mareschal, " and of the country of Fernes, to be read and pub- " lished, and invested my Lord in his office. And " greatly to be thought, my Lord shall have com- " modity by that county; but that I refer to further " trial. *Exitus acta probat.* My Lord intends to " remain in his own country to defend those borders, " and to take full survey of his lands."[1]

The particulars of the last illness and death of Essex, with the letters written by him from his

[1] From MSS. in the possession of Lord Bagot at Blithfield. The Richard Bagot, to whom this letter was written, was a dear and faithful friend to the Earl of Essex and to his son: it was to him that Lord Essex gave the portrait of himself from which the engraving in this volume was made. Mr. Bagot was steward of Queen Elizabeth's manors in Staffordshire, after the attainder of Lord Paget, and also woodward of the county; he was several times sheriff of Staffordshire; and died, 1596.

Richard Broughton, a barrister, and, as he is termed in the letters of the time, "collector of the Earl's causes," was son-in-law to Mr. Bagot, and equally devoted to the Earl of Essex. He became afterwards a Welsh judge.

death-bed to the Queen and Burghley, form a singularly touching narrative. The account prefixed to Camden's Annals[1], which is principally used here, is supposed to have been written by Edward Waterhouse, who had returned to Ireland with his friend and patron, who faithfully attended him in his last illness, closed his eyes, and accompanied his remains to their last resting-place.

On the night of Thursday, the 30th of August, having dined and supped at his own house, he was seized with a flux; the next day he rode to the Archbishop of Dublin's[2], and there spent the night; the next morning he visited the Viscount Baltinglass, at whose house he passed that day and the next night, returning to Dublin on the 2nd September.

During these days he travelled rapidly, ate as usual, but complained occasionally of "grief in his "belly," and would say that he never had hearty grief of mind but a flux must accompany it.

After his return he grew daily worse. Chancellor Gerrard[3] writing to Secretary Walsingham says, "Ever since the 8th day of this month he hath been "marvellously tormented with pains in the stomach, "with a continual evacuation by stool, thought by "the three physicians it had been flux, for in every "stool there was an appearance of blood; but in truth "it is the abundance of adust choler turned to a "very melancholy humor, which, apostumated in "some parts, turneth to his stomach." Whatever

[1] Edition by Thomas Hearne, 1717.
[2] Adam Loftus.
[3] S. P. O. 19th September, 1576.

the learned Chancellor's explanation may mean, to us it is quite clear, that, having neglected his disorder at first, Essex now laboured under a very severe attack of dysentery. Waterhouse thus continues his account:—"Having every day and night few less "than twenty, thirty, or sometimes forty stools, "through which being sore weakened, and natural "strength diminished, he addressed himself to that "which his friends and servants feared; *i.e.* to finish "his life, to our great sorrow, but to his everlasting "joy. For as he had lived a noble man of great "fame and loyalty, of great zeal, faith, and most "Christian and sound religion, and had his life "adorned richly with all virtue seeming for a noble "man and of the family of Christ, so in his sickness "he showed himself to be a true servant of Christ; "Job in his sufferings did not, with less show of "grief and grudging, pass over his pains."

"The only care he had of any worldly matter was "for his children, to whom he often commended his "love and blessing," and often prayed devoutly to God that He would bless them and give them grace to fear Him. "For his daughters also he prayed, "lamenting the time, which is so frail and ungodly, "considering the frailness of women. God defend "them," said he, "bless them, and make them to "fear His name, and Lord give them grace to lead a "virtuous life." And speaking of Philip Sidney he desired to be commended to him, "and tell him I "send him nothing, but I wish him well, and so "well, that if God do move both their hearts, I

" wish that he might match with my daughter. I " call him son; he so wise, so virtuous, and godly; " and if he go on in the course he hath begun, he will " be as famous and worthy a gentleman as ever " England bred."

Two days before his death, being surrounded by many noble and worshipful persons, he spoke as follows:—" Oh Lord God, have mercy upon me! " and you all may take example by me, how vain and " uncertain this world is. Within this month I was " well and strong, and now I am ready to die. God " forgive me for Jesus Christ's sake! Three years " have I lived very negligently, and have not served " God, but lived soldier-like. Although a soldier " should fear God and serve him, yet I have not " served him, but spent my time vainly. Lord, forgive " me, and I forgive all the world.—Lord, from the " bottom of my heart, from the bottom of my heart, " even all the injuries and wrongs that any have " done unto me! Lord, forgive them, and I forgive " them from the bottom of my heart."

On the morning of Thursday, the 20th September, the Archbishop of Dublin administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the following persons being present and joining with him, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Francis Agar, Edward Waterhouse, Dr. Travers, John Brown, and Thomas Knell, preachers, and most of the gentlemen of his chamber.

On this day he wrote the following beautiful and affecting letter of farewell to the Queen, in which he consigns his children, his sole remaining care in this life, to the bounty of Her Majesty.

No. XXIX.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

The time is now come, my most gracious Sovereign, by frayling of my fatal and deadly infirmity, that I should think only upon my Saviour, and things tending to heavenly immortality; yet while we remain in this corruptible flesh, the world requireth many Christian duties, whereof some, even in the pangs of death, I do now most humbly offer unto your highness. My estate of life, which, in my conscience, cannot be prolonged until the sun rise again, hath made me dedicate myself only to God, and generally to forgive and ask forgiveness of the world; but most specially, of all creatures, to ask pardon of your Majesty for all offences that you have taken against me, not only for my last letters, wherewith I hear your Majesty was much grieved, but also with all other actions of mine that have been offensively conceived by your Majesty. My hard estate, most gracious Sovereign, having by great attempts long ebbed, even almost to the low water mark, made me hope much of the flood of your abundance; which, when I saw were not in mine own opinion more plentifully poured upon me, drave me to that which I dare not call plainness, but, as a matter offering offence, do condemn it for error; yet pardonable, Madame, because I justify not my doings, but humbly ask forgiveness, even at such a time as I can offend no more. My humble suit must yet extend itself further into many branches, for the behoof of my poor children, that since God doth now make them fatherless, yet it would please your Majesty to be as a mother unto them, at least by your gracious countenance and care of their education and matches. Mine eldest son, upon whom the continuation of my house remaineth, shall lead a life far unworthy his calling and most obscurely, if it be not holpen by

[1] Burghley State Papers, by Murdin, p. 300.; also Harl. MSS. 6992. 28.

your Majesty's bounty and favour; for the smallness of his living, the greatness of my debt, and the dowries that go out of my land, make the remainder little or nothing towards the reputation of an Earl's estate. But if it please your Majesty to grant him my poor offices in Wales, the leading of 100 horse under controlment, and by some sufficient soldiers here in Ireland, for the guarding of the northern border and his lands upon the same, and withal would pardon my debt to your Majesty, it would not only be more than a recompense unto me, but a most strong obligation whereby to tie him everlastingly to so gracious a Prince. And yet your Majesty parts with no more to your poor kinsman than you might needs yield to others, saving the debt already stated, which sum your Majesty shall by your prerogative receive of his living in his minority, or very near so much. I dare not wish him mine office of Earl Marshal here, lest you should not think him worthy of the rest. But he is my son, and may be fit for more in his life than his unfortunate father hath in his possession at his death. I must end, as I think, both my letter and my life together; and, therefore, it is enough that to your Majesty I commit him with humble petition, that my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Chamberlain may direct his education.

The view of my good friend the Archbishop of Dublin, encouraging me to this battle, wherein I now fight, doth give me cause to end with this petition for him, that your Majesty will think of him for some other benefice in England: he is a man notable in his function, good in life and example, and hath served your Majesty truly in matters of this state. This is enough to a Prince that nourisheth learned men, and rewardeth her servants.

The Lord God prosper your Majesty, send you long and happy reign. And so I commit you humbly to him, and my poor children to you. At your castle of Dublin, the 20th day of Sept. 1576.

"About three o'clock in the afternoon, in the "same day," says Waterhouse, "he fell into a great "pang, wherein we thought all he would have yielded "to nature; and feeling it coming, with great joy "and faith he burst out to prayers, hoping to be "dissolved: and he desired to be placed where he "might kneel on his knees, and speak his last words; "and so commended he his soul to Jesus Christ, and "there he prayed so long as he could speak. 'My "sight faileth me,' quoth he, and so he said the "Lord's Prayer; and being at a stay, his chaplain "helped him out with, 'Lord, into thy hands, I "commend my spirit;' which being half said, he fell "into a swoon: whereat his friends and good servants "made such a cry and laboring, and throwing rose-"water in his face, at last he came to himself again, "and casting abroad his hands, he said, 'Alas! it "will not be; I cannot yet be dissolved. Oh Lord! "receive my soul. Like as the hart desireth the "water brook, so longeth my soul after thee, O God!' "Then being comforted by the preacher, he said, "'I am of good cheer; I feel more comfort than I can "desire. I fear not death: I believe my sins are "forgiven me in the blood of Jesus Christ.'"

But he was not yet to be released. Although he had many bitter pangs, neither his memory nor any of his senses failed him; and on the 21st, still anxious about his son, he wrote to Lord Burghley, to whom with the Earl of Sussex, he especially consigned him, signifying his wishes as to the education of the young Hereford.

No. XXX.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My good Lord, — It were more reasonable that I framed my last speech unto you to this end, only to shew myself thankful unto you for your favours past, than to enter into new petitions at such a time as this, when you are sure that my thanks shall die with me; and that my son, by tenderness of years, is far from discretion to judge of such friendship, as I must desire to proceed from your L. on his behalf. Nevertheless, upon assured confidence that your love for me shall descend to my children, and that your L. will declare yourself a friend to me both alive and dead, I have willed Mr. Waterhouse to shew unto you how you may with honor and equity do good to my son Hereford, and how to bind him with perpetual friendship to you and to your house. And to that end, I would have his love towards those who are descended from you spring up and increase with his years. I have wished his education to be in your household, though the same had not been allotted to your L. as Master of the Wards. And that the whole time which he should spend in England, in his minority, might be divided in attendance upon my Lord Chamberlain and you, to the end that as he might frame himself to the example of my L. of Sussex in all the actions of his life, tending either to the wars, or to the institution of a noble man, so he might also reverence your L. for your wisdom and gravity, and lay up your counsels and advice in the treasury of his heart. I assure myself in God that he will raise up many friends to my posterity, and that this small persuasion shall be sufficient to move your L. to do good to the son of him that lived and died your true and unfeigned friend. And so to the Lord I commit you, se-

[1] Harl. MSS. 6992. 28.; also printed in Murdin, 301.

questering myself from henceforth from all worldly causes. At Dublin, the 21st Sept. 1576.

Yr L. bounden and at commandment,

W. ESSEX.

My good L., I am much desirous that my son should be sent to the Palsgrave, as soon as your L. and my Lord Chamberlain shall think him able to travail. But whatsoever I write to the Queen's Majesty therein, I submit myself to your two opinions, as I would in all things, if God had given me life.

"The night following, the Friday night, which "was the night before he died, he called William "Hewes, which was his musician, to play upon the "virginal and to sing. 'Play,' said he, 'my song, "Will Hewes, and I will sing it myself.' So he did "it most joyfully, not as the howling swan, which, "still looking down, waileth her end, but as a "sweet lark; lifting up his hands, and casting up "his eyes to his God, with this mounted the crystal "skies, and reached with his unwearied tongue the "top of the highest heavens. Who could have "heard and seen this violent conflict, having not "a stonied heart, without innumerable tears and "watery plaints."

This song, or hymn[1], which poor Essex had composed during the intervals of pain, like every expres-

[1] The hymn is too long for insertion here; it may be found in Add. MSS. 5830. f. 122. The first stanza may serve as a specimen:

"O heavenly God, O Father dear, cast down thy tender eye,
Upon a wretch, that, prostrate here, before thy throne doth lie;
O pour thy precious oil of grace into my wounded heart;
O let thy drops of mercy swage the rigor of my smart."

sion that fell from him during his illness, breathes a spirit of true and lively faith.

The end of all his worldly joys and griefs was now at hand. About 11 o'clock in the forenoon of Saturday, the 22nd September, 1576, "he was ready to yield "up to the ghost; he strove to praise even when his "voice could not be heard; and, when he could not "speak, Mr Waterhouse, holding him by the hands, "bade him give a sign if he understood the prayers;" the chaplain continued to pray aloud, until, at the name of Jesus, "he held up both his hands, and "with that fell asleep in Christ as meekly as a "lamb."

Although this account of Essex's illness and death is, in itself, sufficient to refute the charge of poisoning, it is right to say, that, partly as it appears from some slight expressions used by himself in the early part of his illness, and partly from a letter of Mr. Knell, one of his chaplains, a report was spread, and very generally believed, that he had been poisoned; and Leicester, who had a reputation for removing in that way all obstacles from his path, was so universally considered as the originator of the crime, that Sir Henry Sidney, on his return to Dublin, thought it necessary to institute an inquiry into the cause and manner of the death of the Earl of Essex; and in his letter to Secretary Walsingham[1], detailing the circumstances, states that there "was no appearance or cause of "suspicion that could be gathered, that he died of

[1] Sidney Mem. vol. i. p. 140., an extremely interesting and particular account.

" poison." From the account of Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley we learn likewise, that, on a post mortem examination, all the inward parts of the body were found to be in a sound condition, " saving that " his heart was somewhat consumed, and the bladder " of his gall empty." [1]

The following extract from a letter of Mr. Broughton shows that Essex was prevented, by his increasing illness, from going over to Wales for the restoration of his health, not, as asserted by many writers, to revenge himself on Leicester. He writes from Hereford, on the 25th September:—" On Saturday last I " received a letter from my Lord that he is extremely " sick of a laske, turned to a flux; his letter was dated " the 13th Sept., and that his sickness continued since " the last of August; he hath had many vomits: I " understand his physicians do not doubt his Lord- " ship's well recovery, nor his Lordship neither; but " for as much as his page Hunynges, and a gentleman " to whom he drank, were sick of the like disease, " he suspecteth his drink was not of the best. His " Lordship wrote to me that he would for recovery " of his health presently embark to his house of " Lanfey. I ride in haste to see his Lordship; and " Mr. Doctor Parry, for whom his Lordship did " write, is one half day's journey before me." [2]

All writers concur in praising the character of the noble Essex; and all his acts, all his feelings and

[1] Lansd. MSS. f. 21. f. 33.

[2] Blithfield MSS.

sentiments, as they are shown to us in his letters, prove him to have been a man full of high and generous qualities. We shall content ourselves with summing up his character and acquirements in two extracts: the one from a letter of Sir Henry Sidney, who exhibited his dislike to Essex in a subsequent letter to his brother-in-law, Leicester, when writing of the Lords Essex and Ormonde, he said, "I take "God to record I could brook neither of them both;" the other from the funeral sermon preached by the Bishop of St. David's [1], who may be supposed not to have omitted any ground of panegyric, even though a little unreasonable; and it must be confessed some of the accomplishments which he so highly lauds sound rather curious to modern ears.

Sir Henry Sidney writes, "Thus have I delivered "unto you as much as I can learn of the sickness and "death of this noble peer, whom I left, when I left "Dublin, in all appearance a lusty, strong, and plea-

[1] A Funeral Sermon at the Buriall of Walter, Earle of Essex and Ewe. Preached by Richard Davies, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. 4to. London, 1577. Mr. Broughton sent a copy to Mr. Bagot with the following letter:—

"Sir, by the haste of this messenger, I have sent herewith to my cousin T. Newport (steward of the household to Lord Essex) certain pretty book of the funeral sermon preached at my Lord's death, as a memorial by the young Earl of his father's well wishers and especial friends. The like he hath bestowed upon sundry noblemen and ladies, which are accepted as jewels of great importance. I have sent, first, one to my cousin Newport, then to yourself, Mrs. Bagot, my partner, and Mrs. Trew, four; one for Sir Walter Aston, one for Mr. Adderley, one for Mr. Littleton, and one for Mr. Chetwyn; a dozen to bestow where you shall have occasion.

"6th May, 1577."

" sant man, and before I returned his breath was out " of his body, and his body out of this country, and, " undoubtedly, his soul in heaven; for in my life I " never heard of a man to die in such perfectness: he " was sick twenty or twenty-one days, and most of " those days tormented with pains intolerable; but in " all that time, and all that torture, he was never " heard speak an idle or an angry word. The Al- " mighty grant that all professsing Christ in this life " may, at their death, make such testimony of Chris- " tianity as this noble Earl did."

So much from the Deputy, let us turn now to the right reverend preacher.

" Although he was by inheritance of noble blood, " he gave himself up to win the nobility that springeth " from the very originals of the same. He had dili- " gently travelled in the Scriptures. There were " very few noblemen in England more expert in " chronicles, histories, genealogies, pedigrees. He ex- " celled in describing and blazing of arms. He was " by nature the son of Mars; for prowess, magnani- " mity, and high courage, to be compared to the old " Roman captains. He could not be turned from the " executing of justice. He was to the proud and " arrogant a lion, to the meek and humble a lamb. " There be some that count themselves worthy honor " and estimation when they tear God in pieces with " chafing and horrible oaths, which this noble Earl " detested and abhorred, as a matter not only inde- " cent but repugnant to the nature of true nobility,

"attributing due reverence to the name of the "Lord."

The remains of the Earl of Essex were carried over to Wales, to be interred at Carmarthen, the place of his birth. The funeral did not take place until the 26th November. What was the cause of this long delay we know not; nor does Waterhouse, in his letter from Chartley of the 14th November, give any reason to Sir H. Sidney.

No. XXXI.[1]

Waterhouse to Sir H. Sidney.

May it please your Lordship. The funerals[2] of the Earl of Essex have been deferred till now, that they be appointed to be honourably finished at Carmarthen, the 24th of this month. I have forborne to write to your Lordship since my arrival in this realm, because I would give free scope to all men to utter their opinions concerning my behaviour here, in such causes as I had to deal in, and I doubt not but you have heard enough of it; but if any reports have come unto your Lordship's ears, that in the causes of my Lord of Essex I have dealt indirectly, I assure your Lordship they have done me wrong; for as I have justified him and his doings against all the world, without respect of fear or favor, so have I been free from malicious thoughts, and have quenched all sparks that might kindle any new fire in these causes, which I hope be buried in oblivion, wherein I stand to the report of Sir Philip Sidney above any other.

The estate of the Earl of Essex being best known to myself, doth require my travail for a time in his causes; but my burthen cannot be great when every man putteth to his help-

[1] Sidney Mem. i. 147.

[2] See Appendix B., the expenses of the funeral of the Earl of Essex.

ing hand. Her Majesty hath bestowed upon the young Earl his marriage, and all his father's rules in Wales, and promiseth the remission of his debt. The Lords do generally favor and further him; some for the trust reposed[1], some for love to the father, others for affinity with the child, and some for other causes. And all these Lords that wish well to the children, and I suppose all the best sort of the English Lords besides, do expect what will become of the treaty between Mr. Philip and my Lady Penelope. Truly, my Lord, I must say to your Lordship, as I have said to my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Philip, the breaking off from this match, if the default be on your parts, will turn to more dishonour than can be repaired with any other marriage in England. And I protest unto your Lordship, that I do not think that there is at this day so strong a man in England of friends as the little Earl of Essex, nor any man more lamented than his father, since the death of King Edward.

The former part of this letter no doubt refers to the rumour of poison; the latter to the marriage treaty between Philip Sidney and Penelope Devereux, which was broken off, and most unhappily. When both were married, they yet remained tenderly attached, as may be seen in some of Sidney's most impassioned verses, in the poem of Stella and Astrophel, which is, in fact, the history of their love, written after her marriage to Lord Rich.

Penelope Devereux, eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Essex, the beautiful, the accomplished, ardent, high-spirited Penelope, beloved by two of the most brilliant men of her age, deserves for her romantic

[1] See Appendix C., an abstract of the Earl's will, with the names of the trustees; "the Lords in whom trust was reposed."

history more space than we can afford in these pages; but, as actors of importance in after events, we must give a short account of her and of her sister. Nothing exists to inform us why the marriage of Lady Penelope to Sir Philip Sidney was broken off. The Earl of Huntingdon, her relative and one of her guardians, in a letter to Lord Burghley, of the 10th March, 1580[1], proposed that a match should be made between her and the young Lord Rich, he being a proper gentleman and in years very suitable. A proper gentleman, forsooth! the grandson of Lord Chancellor Rich, one of the most unprincipled and basest characters that ever filled high office and disgraced noble rank; the grandson of a mercer of the city of London; himself rough and uncourtly in manners and conversation, dull and uneducated; as he expressed himself, "a poor man "of no language, only in the French, having therein "but a little oversight with coming over to attend "my Lord of Shrewsbury;" proper in nothing but his wealth. This was the man selected to displace the gallant and accomplished Sidney in the heart of such a combination of rare beauty and wit as Penelope Devereux. No wonder that, in the devotion of a lover more worthy of her, she endeavoured to forget that "her fair neck a foul yoke bare."

I cannot refrain from giving two extracts from that collection of passionate and love-breathing sonnets, one of which shows that Lady Rich was the Stella of the poem, the other descriptive of those rare charms for which she was so celebrated.

[1] Lansd. MSS. 31. f. 40.

Towards Aurora's court a nymph doth dwell,
Rich in all beauties which man's eye can see;
' Beauties so far from reach of words that we '
Abase her praise, saying, she doth excel;
Rich in the treasures of deserved renown;
Rich in the riches of a royal heart;
Rich in those gifts which give th' eternal crown,
Who, tho' most rich in these and ev'ry part,
Which make the patents of true worldly bliss,
Hath no misfortune, but that Rich she is.

Queen Virtue's court, which some call Stella's face,
Prepared by Nature's choicest furniture,
Hath his front built of alabaster pure;
Gold is the covering of that stately place.
The door by which sometimes comes forth her grace,
Red porphyr is, which lock of pearl makes sure;
Whose porches rich (which name of cheeks endure),
Marble mixed red and white, do interlace.
When nature made her chief work, Stella's eyes,
In colour black why wrap'd she beams so bright?
Would she in beamy black, like painter wise,
Frame daintiest lustre, mix'd of shades and light?
Or did she, else, that sober hue devise,
In object best to knit and strength our sight;
Lest if no veil these brave gleams did disguise,
They, sunlike, should more dazzle than delight?

Charles Blount[1], Lord Mountjoy, and afterwards Earl of Devonshire, a man of great abilities and ac-

[1] Succeeded his brother William as Lord Mountjoy in 1594; created Earl of Devonshire after his return from Ireland, 1603, and Knight of the Garter; died, 3rd April 1606, without lawful issue, the marriage with Lady Rich being disallowed. Their son, Mountjoy Blount, was created Baron Mountjoy, 1627; Earl of Newport, 1628.

quirements, whose goodly presence won the favour of Elizabeth on his first appearance at court, became at a later date the favoured lover of Lady Rich. Their liaison lasted many years. It is a singular feature of the manners of the time, that she lived notoriously in criminal connection with Mountjoy, and bore him children; yet went to live with her husband occasionally, nursed him in illness, was received at court, and ultimately, on Mountjoy's return from Ireland, went back to him; when, by mutual agreement between Lord and Lady Rich, a divorce à mensâ et thoro was obtained.

At the accession of James I., Lady Rich received her full share of the favours which were showered on all the connections and friends of her lamented brother. The King granted to her "the place and "rank of the ancientest Earl of Essex, called Bour-"chier, whose heir her father was, she having by her "marriage, according to the customs of the laws of "honor, ranked herself according to her husband's "barony. By this gracious grant she took rank of "all the baronesses of the kingdom, and of all Earls' "daughters, except Arundel, Oxford, Northumber-"land, and Shrewsbury."[1]

Mountjoy was created Earl of Devonshire in 1603 and Master of the Ordnance, and was as much favoured by James as Lady Rich was by the Queen, although they were then living openly together. At their marriage, which took place at Wanstead, 26th

[1] S. P. O., dated at Farnham, 17th August, 1603.

December, 1605, a storm burst on them from which they never recovered; for, in the royal opinion, such a marriage was contrary to the law of the land; it, therefore, became a greater offence in the King's eyes than their previous state of life, which only broke the law of God! Devonshire wrote an epistle to the King, besides a discourse in defence of the marriage. In the former he says that Lady Rich, "being in the "power of her friends, was married against her will, "unto one against whom she did protest at the very "solemnity, and ever after; between whom, from the "first day, there ensued continual discord, although "the same fears that forced her to marry constrained "her to live with him." Such were a *mariage de convenance* and its results in the sixteenth century!

Before the arguments were half concluded touching the legality of this marriage, Devonshire died on the 3d April, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, on the 6th May, 1606, the heralds determining to put up his arms without his wife's. The short remnant of her life was passed in obscurity. In 1607 she followed her husband to the grave.

She had by Lord Rich three sons and three daughters; of the former, two became Earls of Warwick and Holland; and by Mountjoy, three sons and two daughters, of whom the eldest became Earl of Newport.

Lady Dorothy Devereux, the second daughter, was less beautiful, less clever, and less amiable than her sister. Her first marriage was a clandestine one; the particulars of it are related in the life of

Bishop Aylmer, who was complained of to the Court of High Commission for hastily and negligently granting licences of marriage. "Lady Dorothy Devereux was, in July, 1583, residing with "Sir Henry Cock, Knight, of Broxbourne in Hertfordshire, where she was married to Sir Thomas "Perrott[1], by a strange minister, two men guarding "the church door with swords and daggers under "their cloaks, as also had the rest of the company, "five or six in number. One Green was then vicar "of Broxbourne, to whom that morning repaired "two persons, one of whom told him he was minister "and B. D. and a preacher long time; asked for the "keys of the church which must be opened to him, "as he had a commission to examine and swear certain "men: he asked also for the communion book; the "vicar said it was locked up in the vestry and he "could not come at it, but offered him a Latin Testament, which the other refused. Going afterwards to the church, the vicar found it open, and "Sir Thomas and the lady ready to enter. Perceiving a marriage was intended, he endeavoured "to persuade the strange minister not to deal in the "matter, and proceeded to read an injunction against "any minister performing the marriage ceremony, "save in the church of which he is minister. They

[1] Sir Thomas Perrott was son to Sir John Perrott, sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland, who, being a man of ungovernable temper, used expressions against the Queen, for which he was tried on a charge of high treason: he was condemned, 27th April, 1592, and died in prison. His son was restored through the influence of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Essex.

"refused to hear it; and Lewis, the strange man, "told the vicar he had sufficient authority, and "produced a licence sealed, which the vicar offered "to read. Before he had half done, Sir Thomas "snatched it out of his hand, and offered him a rial "to marry them: he refused, when Sir Thomas "ordered Lewis to proceed; on which the vicar re-"sisted and shut the book. Then Sir Thomas thrust "him away, told him he had nothing to do with it, "and should answer for resisting the Bishop's au-"thority. Another of Sir Thomas's party, one Go-"dolphin, told him he was malicious; on which, "forbidding once more, he held his peace. Edmund "Lucy, Esq., who also was living in Sir H. Cock's "family, came in, and plucked away the book from "the minister, who told him he should answer it; "and then went on with the ceremony without sur-"plice, in his cloak, riding-boots, and spurs, and "despatched it hastily."[1]

Lady Dorothy was, at this time, not eighteen: if the scene above related shows that she was rather wanting in delicacy, or even decency, it must be admitted that it proves her to have been a very wilful and determined young lady. How she lived with the husband to whom she was joined in this strange manner, we cannot say; but history has handed down some of the sharp language she used to her second husband, Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northum-

[1] Hist. Coll. of the Life and Acts of John Aylmer, Bishop of London, by John Strype. 8vo. Oxon. 1821.

berland, to whom she was married in 1595.[1] Lady Northumberland died the 3d August, 1619, leaving issue.

Walter Devereux, second son of the Earl of Essex, was a youth of great promise; he was entered at Christ Church, Oxon, 12th June, 1584, being then in his fifteenth year, and was killed in a skirmish before Rouen, the 8th September, 1591, leaving no issue by his wife, Margaret, daughter and heir of Arthur Dakin, Esq.

Lady Essex has been accused, but without sufficient reason, of a connection with the Earl of Leicester during the life of her husband. Besides the objections formerly adverted to, the character of that nobleman is almost a refutation of the charge.

Leicester had been, for some years before the death of Essex, connected with the widow of John, second Lord Sheffield[2], either by a simulated marriage, or a private one, of which he so carefully destroyed all evidence, that in after days, when she endeavoured to substantiate the legitimacy of her son, Robert Dudley[3], she failed completely in

[1] On the 24th January, 1594, Sir Thomas Perrott was living (see Birch. Eliz. i. 147.); and on the 7th November, 1595, Roland White writes, that "my lady Northumberland is now known to be with child."—Sidney Mem. i. 359.

[2] Douglas Howard, eldest daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, married first, John Lord Sheffield, who died 1569; secondly, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, which marriage was denied by that nobleman, and she was unable to prove it; and married thirdly, Sir Edward Stafford, of Grafton. Collins refers to "an extraordinary account" of her intrigues with Leicester, in Gervase Holles curious memoir of the Holles family, which I have not been able to meet with.

[3] Robert Dudley, son of the above, who, failing to prove his legitimacy

proving a legal marriage. Lady Sheffield did certainly, during Leicester's lifetime, become wife to Sir Edward Stafford, but she asserted it was to save her own life. As Leicester was utterly without scruples regarding women, and would go any length to obtain the object of his desires, and as he never lost sight of his grand object, an union with Elizabeth, it is quite possible that Lady Sheffield was really his wife; there can be no doubt she thought so.

The Earl of Essex died; Leicester, weary of Lady Sheffield, with a fresh object in view, threw her off, and, it is said, persuaded Lady Essex into a private marriage. Sir Francis Knollys became informed of this. He was too experienced and too well versed in the character of Leicester to be satisfied with a mere assertion, and insisted that his daughter should be married a second time in the presence of witnesses. This ceremony was performed at Wanstead[1], on the 21st September, 1578, before Sir Francis Knollys, the Earl of Warwick[2], Lord North, and others. Had Leicester succeeded in seducing Lady Essex

after Leicester's death, retired abroad, calling himself Duke of Northumberland. His wife was created a duchess for life, 20 Charles I.

[1] The manor of Wanstead was purchased from Lord Rich by the Earl of Leicester, 1577, and by the latter bequeathed to his widow and her son Robert, Earl of Essex; from whom, by some family arrangement, it passed to Lord Mountjoy. (Pat. 41 Eliz. 2nd March.) He died without lawful issue, 1606, when Lyson supposes it to have escheated to the Crown.

The deposition of Lord North touching the marriage of Leicester and Lady Essex, printed in Collins' Peerage, iv. 461., goes far to prove the absence of guilty connection between them previously.

[2] Ambrose Dudley, brother to Leicester, created Earl of Warwick, 4 Eliz. K. G. Ob. s. p. 1589.

during the lifetime of her husband, he was not the man to have made her his wife after two years of widowhood.

The marriage of Leicester with Lady Essex was kept exceedingly private, and nobody ventured to inform the Queen, until M. Simier came over to negotiate a marriage between her and the Duke d'Anjou; when the envoy, conceiving that certain obstructions which he met with were placed in his way by Lord Leicester, imparted the secret to Her Majesty.

As Leicester had, up to a short time before, hoped to become the consort of Elizabeth, and his ambition was well known to the Queen, her fury at this discovery may be imagined. Averse as the Queen always was to the marriage of any of her favoured courtiers, Leicester added a deep wound to her vanity, by showing how much stronger than her own was the influence of her cousin over his mind and heart. The Queen would instantly have committed him to the Tower, had not the honest Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, interposed, telling her that "no "man was to be troubled for a lawful marriage." Leicester was, therefore, only confined to the palace of Greenwich, and, before long, contrived to regain his place in the Queen's favor: but Elizabeth never pardoned her successful rival; and indeed, from that hour, Lady Leicester was never but once admitted to the royal presence.

One son, the fruit of this marriage, died in 1584, and was buried in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

Leicester himself departed this life the 4th September, 1588, leaving to his widow the manors of Wanstead and Drayton Bassett, and to his "well beloved son-"in-law," the Earl of Essex, Leicester House[1] in London, his best suit of armour, being that my Lord Chancellor gave him, his two best horses, and a George and Garter, "in hope he should wear it "shortly."

Lady Leicester was left by her husband sole executrix, and her debts being much greater than his personal estate, among them a very considerable debt to the Crown, she found herself in a situation of great difficulty, which was enhanced by the enmity of Elizabeth, who, although she wept profusely for the death of Leicester, was a harsh and unrelenting creditor to his widow. Probably it was for the sake of a protector that she married so early as the month of July, 1589, Sir Christopher Blount, a soldier of fortune, but not of very high character, who had been Gentleman of the Horse to the Earl of Leicester. This choice does little credit to her judgment, for Sir Christopher appears to have been more apt at dissipating than husbanding her fortune. He was concerned in the insurrection of the Earl of Essex in 1601, and was executed for his share in that attempt, leaving her ladyship for the third time a widow.

From this time Lady Leicester lived almost entirely at Drayton Bassett, where, at the good old age of ninety-two, she would "walk a mile of a morning"

[1] Subsequently called Essex House.

to visit her poor neighbours, among whom she was greatly beloved and respected for affability and charity. Through all the vicissitudes of a chequered life, after outliving all her children, she still maintained that cheerful spirit for which she had been remarkable.

On the morning of Christmas Day, 1634, being then ninety-four years of age, she breathed her last, surrounded by her great great grand-children, and was buried by the side of her second husband at Warwick. Whatever were her faults, she was a warm and affectionate mother and friend; and possessed a courage no danger could daunt, a spirit no misfortune could cast down.

VIEW OF CHARTLEY BEFORE THE FIRE OF 1781.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, SECOND EARL OF ESSEX.

ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.—HIS LETTER TO BURGHLEY.—HE GOES TO TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.—HIS LETTERS WHILE THERE.—MASTER OF ARTS, 1581.—HIS EXTRAVAGANCE.—HE RETIRES TO LANFEY.—MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS SENT TO CHARTLEY.—ESSEX'S ANGER.—LEICESTER'S EXPEDITION TO HOLLAND.—BATTLE OF ZUTPHEN.—ESSEX RETURNS WITH LEICESTER.—EXECUTION OF MARY.—DISGRACE OF DAVISON.—ESSEX APPEALS TO JAMES OF SCOTLAND IN HIS BEHALF.—MADE MASTER OF THE HORSE.—DISPUTE WITH THE QUEEN CONCERNING SIR WALTER RALEGH.

SOME of my readers may have found it a sore trial of their patience to labour through the preceding pages; yet I feel that Walter, Earl of Essex, was entitled to the notice that has been bestowed on him, not less on account of his own merits than as the father of him on whose life we are now entering. Too proud to join in the race for court favour, he was yet so highly esteemed by his Sovereign, as to become an object of jealousy to those for whom the atmosphere of the Privy Chamber was the breath of life; and through their intrigues, aided by the spurring of his own active zeal, was driven to pass the few years of his public life in a service, which, indeed, afforded no romantic adventures or stirring incidents to amuse the imagination, but where the disappointments and reverses to which he was perpetually subjected brought into full play those excellent qualities of patience and

prudence which it would have been well for his brilliant son if he had inherited.

My present task is one of far greater difficulty;—to paint the life of him "who blazed the comet of a "season," the favourite equally of his countrymen and his Queen — the warrior and statesman, who played a conspicuous part in almost every event of the last sixteen years of Elizabeth's reign — the patron and friend of men of genius, himself one of the first writers of pure and elegant English, and almost equally distinguished for the classical purity of his Latin letters—a character composed of the most admirable qualities that can adorn a man, with the most fiery passions, and the most startling weaknesses: —to do justice to this subject one may well nigh despair.

At the time of his father's death, "my little Lord "of Hereford" was not quite nine years of age; and it has been generally received, on the authority of Sir Henry Wotton[1], that the late Earl had but a "cold "conceit" of him. Sir H. Wotton was about the same age as the young Lord Essex, whom in after years he served as secretary. His statement, therefore, can only be at second hand, and we must admit it with caution. He observes that a higher opinion of his second son, Walter, who indeed was "a diamond "of his time," was the cause of this cold conceit on the part of the late Earl. Unluckily we possess no remains of this rare family jewel; while an early, perhaps the earliest letter, of the young Essex has

[1] Reliq. Wotton.

been preserved and handed down to us. This letter, we must needs think, a very remarkable production, written as it was by a child, wholly unassisted in its composition; and of its genuineness it bears internal evidence, in the obvious effort of the young Earl to address his guardian in a manner at once respectful and dignified.

Mr. Edward Waterhouse having been despatched to Chartley to accompany the Earl to Carmarthen, where he was to attend the funeral of his father as chief mourner, wrote to Lord Burghley the following letter, which enclosed that of which we have just been speaking.

No. XXXII.[1]

Waterhouse to Burghley.

It may please your Lordship. I came to this house of purpose to have attended on my Lord of Essex to the burial of his father; but when I had conferred with such as are about the Earl, and understood by them the tenderness of his body, I durst not consent to take him from hence in this extreme cold weather, to so long a journey, but do leave him here, meaning that his uncle, George Devereux, shall supply the place of chief mourner.

I delivered your L. letters unto the Earl which he read three or four times. In the end he said, I am much bound to my L. Treasurer. I will write unto his L.; and because I would have tried of his wit, I left him to his own device, saving that I told him that Her Majesty had licensed him to go to the burial, and that your L. and my L. Chamberlain were the persons upon whose advice my L., his father, had commanded him to repose himself. Upon this he wrote

[1] Lansd. MSS. 23. 84.

the letter which your L. shall receive herewith, without help or correcting of one word or syllable. He can express his mind in Latin and French, as well as in English, very courteous and modest, rather disposed to hear than to answer, given greatly to learning, weak and tender, but very comely and bashful. I think your L. will as well like of him as of any that ever came within your charge.

No. XXXIII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I have received your L. letters by Mr. Waterhouse, wherefore I think myself bound to your L. both for your counsel and precepts, and I hope that my life shall be according to your prescriptions. And since my Lord and father commended me to your L. on his deathbed for your L. wisdom, I hope to institute my life according to your L. precepts. Whereas I am appointed of the Queen's Majesty and your L., together with my L. Chamberlain, to do my Lord and father the last service, I would be willing to do not only this service, but any other in my power, if that my weak body could bear this journey, and that all things were convenient: wherefore I most humbly desire Her Majesty and your L. to pardon me; and thus wishing your L. prosperous health, I bid your L. farewell. From Chartley, the 18th November, 1576.

Your L. at commandment as your son,

R. ESSEX.

Essex remained at Chartley till the 11th January 1577, when he became a member of Lord Burghley's family for a few months, previous to his going to Cambridge. Lady Essex writes to Burghley, thanking

[1] Lansd. MSS. 22. 86.

him for the kindness he has shown her son, who has found in him a second father, rather than a guardian. Essex expresses his own gratitude thus.

No. XXXIV.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I am not only to give your L. thanks for your goodness toward me in your L. house, whereby I am bound in duty to your L., but also for your L. great care of placing me here in the University, where, for your L. sake, I have been very well entertained, both of the University and the town. And thus desiring your L. goodness towards me to continue, I wish your Lordship health, with the continuance of your L. honor. From Trinity College, Cambridge, the 13th May, 1577.

Your L. at commandment,

R. ESSEX.

Lord Burghley not only did not encourage in his ward attention to the outward vanities of dress, but he appears to have suffered him to fall into a very ragged condition. Essex's Latin letter on this subject is supported by his tutor's urgent demand for more clothes.

No. XXXV.[2]

Essex to Burghley.

Tanta tua in me bonitas, optime Domine, hoc tempore mihi animum addit, ut pro illis quæ necessaria sunt, ad te scribam, quia placuit dominationi tuæ apte essem discessurus hoc mihi mandatum imponere: idcirco te oro, Domine, ut mittas ad me vestes, quoniam quas mihi Londini dedisti, jam

[1] Lansd. MSS. 25. 19.

[2] Lansd. MSS. 25. 21.

tritæ sunt. Et sic, sperans, Domine, te velle mihi condonare, quod istis senioribus te reipub. negociis occupatum interpello. Deum precor ut servet te salvum et incolumem. Vale. Cantabrigiæ, x. Junii, 1577.

R. ESSEX.

No. XXXVI.[1]

Mr. Wright to Mr. Broughton.

Mr. Broughton, — My hearty commendations remembered; I need not write unto you of my Lord, his extreme necessity of apparel, whereof you yourself was an eye witness. But this I say, as you know it, so other men marvel that his great want is not supplied since the time of the year, beside the consideration of his estate doth require great change. Therefore, as you tender his health, I pray you solicit the matter to my Lord Treasurer, for unless you do not only remember my Lord, but see his commandment put in execution, he shall not only be threadbare, but ragged. The pots we looked for according to the manner; I pray you see them despatched. I wrote earnestly, not so much to stir up you, whom I know to be very forward in my lord his causes, but because his L. necessity crieth out on us. Thus fare you well from Trinity College in Cambridge, the 11th June, 1577. Commend me, I pray you, to Mr. Barroll.

Yours,

R. WRIGHT.

There wants for my Lord,
A fair gown for holidays.
Two doublets.
Three pair of hose.
Two pair of nether stocks.
A velvet cap.
A hat.

Montgomery[2],

A gown.
Two pair hose.
Two doublets.
Two pair of nether stocks.
A cap.

} There is consideration to be had of him, since he is to be maintained as a gentleman, and the place doth require the same.

[1] Lansd. MSS. 25. 48.

[2] A young gentleman who was educated with the Earl, and at his expense, to be a companion to him.

A basin and ewer.
Pots or goblets.
Spoons. } Silver
Plates. } plate.
A salt.
Candlesticks.
Pots to be given to the College.
Hangings.

My L. hath solicited his own cause to my L. Treasurer by these letters.

There are some curious and interesting remains of the accounts kept by the tutors and servants of the Earl, which I have placed in an Appendix.[1] Among other things, they show the cost and manner of living of a nobleman of Trinity College in that day.

Lord Essex was entered at Trinity College in the beginning of May, 1577. The Christmas vacation of that year was passed by him at the Court, where there were great festivities in honour of the Prince Palatine John Casimir[2]; who had brought a large auxiliary force into the Netherlands, at the joint expense of Elizabeth and the States, and had performed no service with them. He came over to England to excuse his miscarriage, which he attributed entirely to the French. He was received with great distinction by the Queen. Their meeting is described by Mr. Broughton in a letter to his father-in-law, Mr. Bagot:— "On his coming, the Queen meeting with him, "offered to kiss him, which he humbly altogether re- "fused. Upon Her Majesty bringing him through "the great chamber into the chamber of presence, "Her Majesty would have him put on his hat, which

[1] Appendix D.
[2] Son of Frederick III., Elector Palatine; died, 1592.

"nowise he would, offering himself in all things at "Her Majesty's commandment: she then replied, that "if he would be at her commandment, then he should "put on his hat: he expounded that it should be in "all things, saving in things to his reproach. Sithence "he hath been, accompanied with the Lords, to Hamp-"ton Court, Windsor, and my Lord of Leicester's "House, at Wanstead. And this 1st February great "tilting at Westminster, and to-morrow harriers, and "other shews, and so the time passeth in passtime."[1]

These gaieties being over, Essex returned to Cambridge, where he pursued his studies with such diligence and success, that few youths of his rank and standing were so distinguished. Anthony Bagot[2] had been, at Essex's request, placed about his person as a companion and attendant, who thus relates his duties in a letter to his father:—"At conve-"nient times I wait upon my Lord, that is, almost "every day, either at after dinner, or else at after "supper, and upon holidays all the day long, which "liketh his L. very well. I am almost every other "day either at dinner or supper with his honor, for "he will not suffer me to depart from him till nine "of the clock."[3]

The letters of Essex at this period seldom consist of more than a few lines: those to Lord Burghley are usually in Latin. In August, 1580, he informs

[1] Blithfield MSS.

[2] Second son of Richard Bagot, of Blithfield, was constantly attached to the person of Lord Essex, from the time of his being at Cambridge; was concerned in Essex's insurrection, but pardoned, 14th April, 44 Eliz.

[3] Blithfield MSS.

his guardian that he is going to quit Cambridge for a time to accompany Lord Rich, "who, for many causes "not unknown" to Burghley, was most dear to him: the ill-assorted marriage of Lord Rich to Lady Penelope Devereux was then about to be concluded.

On the 6th July, 1581, he received the degree of Master of Arts, and we hear no more of him until the close of the next year, when he writes from York, asking Lord Burghley's forgiveness for having passed the bounds of frugality; so early had his prodigal habits begun to develope themselves. The Earl of Huntingdon, his relative and one of his guardians, with whom his sisters were residing, was Lord President of the North.

No. XXXVII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I hope your L. in courtesy will pardon my youth, if I have, through want of experience, in some sort passed the bounds of frugality. I cannot but embrace with duty your L. good counsel, whose love I have effectually proved, and of whose care of my well doings I am thoroughly well persuaded. I do beseech your good L., notwithstanding the lapse of my youth, still to continue a loving friend unto me, as I will acknowledge myself in all duty bound unto your L. Thus I humbly commit your L. to the tuition of the Almighty. York, this 13th Dec. 1582.

Your L. most humbly at commandment,

R. E.

Essex soon after retired to his house at Lanfey, in

[1] Lansd. MSS. 36. 12.

Pembrokeshire, where he became so enamoured of the rural life he led, that he used to say afterwards, that he "could well have bent his mind to a retired "course."[1] So obscure a life was not, indeed could not be, his destiny; but it was not until time and his mother's repeated and earnest remonstrances had overcome the "stiff aversation" he had to appear under the auspices of the Earl of Leicester, that he could be drawn to court. At length he entered that fatal circle in 1584, being then in his seventeenth year; and no sooner did he appear than his "goodly "person, and a kind of urbanity and innate courtesy, "combined with the recollection of his father's mis- "fortunes, won him the hearts of both Queen and "people."

During the autumn of 1585 it had been in contemplation to remove Mary, Queen of Scots, from Tutbury Castle to some other place of confinement, and the Earl of Essex's house at Chartley[2] was fixed upon. Indignant at the notion of his house being converted into a prison, and that feeling perhaps enhanced by compassion for the unhappy prisoner,

[1] See Sir R. Naunton, Fragm. Reg., and Sir H. Wotton's Parallel, *passim*.

[2] Chartley, which came to the Devereux by marriage with the heiress, was built round a court, curiously made of wood, the sides carved, and the top embattled, as represented in Plot's History; the arms of Devereux, and the devices of the Ferrers and Garnishes were in the windows, and many parts without and within the house. It was destroyed by fire, 1781. On the summit of the hill near it are the ruins of a castle, built by Ranulph Blundeville, Earl of Chester, 1220. The chase, or park, is very large, and contains red and fallow-deer, wild beasts, and swine.—Erdeswicke's Staffordshire, by Harwood. While at Chartley, Queen Mary worked a bed, which was burnt with the house.

Essex took active steps to avert this disgrace. He wrote to Mr. Bagot, from London: —

"I received news by John Briton that Sir Amias "Paulet was at Chartley, to prepare for the Scots' "queen; whereupon I sent with speed to the Court "to some who moved the Queen for the stay thereof; "which she most willingly granted, and determined "that it was not a fit place to keep her in. My L. "Treasurer, my L. Leicester, and Mr. Secretary, "assured me that this direction should be given to "Sir Amias Paulet. What it is I know not, but to "prevent the worst, and to have it less fit for that "use, I would have you and Thos. Newport[1] re- "move all the bedding, hangings, and such like "stuffs, to your own house for a while; and if she "come to Chartley, it may be carried to Lichfield, or "else, she being gone to Dudley or elsewhere, it may "be carried back."[2]

To Sir Francis Knollys he sent also an earnest remonstrance against his house being put to such a use.

No. XXXVIII.[3]

Essex to Sir F. Knollys.

Sir,—I am so much moved to think my poor and only house should be used against my will, that I make all the means I can to prevent any such inconvenience. The place which should be for the Queen of Scots is neither of strength nor pleasure, nor can any way fitly serve that turn, as many places in our country. And one reason which may persuade

[1] Thomas Newport was steward of the Earl of Essex's house at Chartley.
[2] Blithfield MSS. [3] Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 78. 12.

it to be spared is, that it is the only house of him which must, if that be taken, live at borrowing lodgings of his neighbours. I being wished to so many ill turns as the foregoing of the use of my house, the spoil of my wood, the marring of my little furniture, the miserable undoing of my poor tenants, I cannot but entreat my good friends to be a mean to the contrary, and, as a chief of them, your honourable self, whose help herein I humbly crave. Thus wishing you the continuance of honor and increase of happiness, I commit you to God. London, the 28 Sept. 1585.

Your most loving and dutiful nephew,

R. ESSEX.

To the Honble. my very good grandfather,
Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of H. M.
Household.

This letter was forwarded to Sir F. Walsingham by Sir F. Knollys, with the following note on the margin:

Master Secretary,—I pray you move Her Majesty to have some compassion of the miserable poor Earl of Essex, who hath but one house freely his own, from which he cannot well be barred to look unto it. And it is no policy for Her Majesty to lodge the Queen of Scots in so young a man's house as he is. 5 Oct. 1585.

Your's assuredly,

F. KNOLLYS.

The last remark of old Sir Francis produced, for a time, the effect he had probably intended, and Mary remained at Tutbury, till Essex was safe in Holland; then in January, 1586, she was removed to Chartley. It was from this place that Ballard, Babington, and their fellow conspirators, intended to effect her release. They had united with that enter-

prise a plan for assassinating Elizabeth, to which it has never been shown that Mary gave her consent; though we cannot suppose she would have visited very heavily a crime that would have placed her on the throne of her relentless enemy. But there were traitors among them, of whom Mr. Giffard, a Roman Catholic, was the principal. Walsingham knew, through them, every move, and played his game so as to entangle the conspirators completely. But proofs of criminality were wanting against Mary, and in the hope of finding them among her papers, she was, on the 8th of August, while out airing, informed she was not to return to Chartley, was carried to Tixall, there confined to two rooms, and denied the use of writing materials; while all her cabinets were broken open at Chartley, and her papers, money, jewels, and caskets,—which last especially excited the curiosity of Elizabeth, and were sent to her unopened,—were seized and searched. On the 25th she was carried back. On entering her apartments, seeing what had taken place, she turned to Sir Amias Paulet, and said to him with the utmost dignity, "There still remain "two things, Sir, you cannot take from me,—the "royal blood which gives me a right to the succes- "sion, and the attachment which binds me to the "faith of my fathers."[1]

On the 24th of September she was removed to Fotheringay, where her earthly sorrows ended on the 8th of February, 1587.

Clouds had been gradually gathering for some

[1] Lingard, vol. vi. 426, 427. note.

years in the direction of Spain. In 1575, Don Louis[1], the Spanish Viceroy of the Netherlands, had sent an agent to Queen Elizabeth, demanding that she should expel from England all those inhabitants of the Low Countries who had there taken refuge from religious persecution. She answered briefly, that she should hold such conduct unworthy of the majesty of a Prince. The States next applied to Elizabeth to become their protector, which, at that time, she declined: but shortly afterwards, Don John, of Austria[2] having succeeded as Viceroy, and continuing the persecutions, she appealed in behalf of the States to Philip II.[3], who was deaf to her remonstrances. Elizabeth then supplied the States with money; and Don John began to interfere in Scottish affairs. In 1581, Francis, Duke of Anjou[4], solicited the hand of Elizabeth, and came over to pursue his suit in person: he was well received, but departed without any promise to his government of the Netherlands, whose inhabitants had thrown off the yoke, and declared Philip of Austria an enemy, at the same time that they elected Anjou. Before long he made an attempt against their liberties, was expelled, retired to France, and died soon after. William of

[1] Don Luis de Requesens, one of the great commanders of the 16th century; he succeeded the Duke d'Alva in the government of the Netherlands, 1573; and died there, 1576.

[2] Don John of Austria, natural son of the Emperor Charles V.; born, 1546; died in the Low Countries, 1578.

[3] Philip II., of Spain, son of Charles V. and Elizabeth of Portugal born, 1527; died, 1598.

[4] François, Duc d'Anjou, son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis; born, 1554; died, 1584.

Nassau, Prince of Orange, was murdered about the same time.[1]

Alexander Farnese[2], Prince of Parma, who had succeeded Don John at the death of the latter in 1578, had reduced many of the provinces, and laid siege to Antwerp. No hope appeared of successful resistance to the Spanish arms without foreign aid, and the States again applied to Queen Elizabeth. After long deliberation in council, it was resolved that, for the defence of the Gospel, the cruelties practised by the Spanish Inquisition, the offence lately offered by sending Spanish troops to Ireland, and a similar intention towards England, the Queen should accept the title of Defender, but she absolutely refused that of Sovereign Lady, which they desired to confer on her. Articles were entered into, and executed at Nonsuch, 10th August, 1585, under which 5000 foot and 1000 horse were to be maintained at the expense of England during the war; Flushing, Brill, and certain forts being delivered to Her Majesty's use to hold until the said expenses were repaid.

The Earl of Leicester was appointed to the command of this expedition, and foremost among the brilliant retinue which accompanied him we find the

[1] William of Nassau, the founder of the Republic of Holland; born, 1533; assassinated, 1584.

[2] Eldest son of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Placentia, and Margaret of Austria; he first served under Don John at Lepanto, 1571, and succeeded him in the Low Countries. He commanded the Spanish armies there and in France with great ability until his death, which was caused by a neglected wound in the arm, received before Caudebec, 1592.

young Earl of Essex, burning with desire to win his spurs. Not satisfied with the command of General of the Horse, which he received, he entered into a lavish outlay to equip a band of his own, for which he received the following lecture from his grandfather.

No. XXXIX.[1]

Sir F. Knollys to Essex.

My Lord,—If I should not love you I should be unnatural; again, if I should flatter youthful humors in you, I should be guilty of the ruinous race of your undoing. Wherefore you must give me leave to say unto you, that wasteful prodigality hath devoured and will consume all noble men that be wilful in expenses before they have of their own ordinary living to bear out such wilful and wasteful expenses. You are so far off from being before hand in land and living left by your father to you, that by unhappy occasions your father hath not left you sufficient lands for to maintain the state of the poorest Earl in England; and also you are so far from goods and riches left unto you by your father, that you are left more in debt than one quarter of your land, to be sold by you, is able to discharge your debt.

Now, for you to put yourself to 1000*l.* charges (as I hear you have done, by borrowing reckonings vainly before hand), for your journey into the Low Countries, by levying and carrying with you a furnished band of men, needless and causeless; which band of men do also look to be recompensed with the spoil of your leases and livings; now if I should flatter you in this wasteful spoiling of yourself, then I should justly be accounted guilty of your ruinous race. I do like

[1] Blithfield MSS.

very well your desire to see the wars, for your learning; and do like your desire much the better, that you do take the opportunity of honoring my Lord of Leicester with your service under him; but this might have been done without any wasteful charge to yourself, for my Lord of Leicester doth set much by your company, but he delighteth nothing in your wasteful consumption. I do say no more, but I beseech our Almighty God so to assist you with His heavenly grace, that youthful wilfulness and wasteful youth do not consume you, before experienced wisdom shall have reformed you.

Your Lordship's assuredly,

At Richmond, the 14 Nov. 1585. F. KNOLLYS.

The Earl of Leicester went over to Holland towards the end of the year, and landed at Flushing[1], of which town Sir Philip Sidney was governor; thence to the Hague his progress was like a triumph; the inhabitants appearing to think his presence brought deliverance from their persecutions, received him with acclamations. The States and municipalities feasted the Earl royally, conferring on him the title of Governor and Captain General, with a body-guard to attend him, and treated him as a sovereign prince. Queen Elizabeth was so angry with the States for this attempt to entangle her, and with Leicester for his ambitious vanity, that they had much difficulty in appeasing her.

On St. George's Day, 1586, Leicester entertained the States with great feasting. After he had attended divine service in state, there was a magnificent ban-

[1] 10th December, 1585. Holinshed's Chronicle, London, 1587, vol. i. p. 1424, 1425.

quet, followed by "dancing, vaulting, and tumbling "with the forces of Hercules, which gave great delight "to the strangers, for they had not seen it before, and "so passed the time till even song." All assembled again at supper, after which began "the barriers "between challengers and defenders, wherein the "Earl of Essex behaved himself so towardly, that he "gave all men great hope of his noble forwardness in "arms."[1]

It is no part of our plan to relate the events of the campaign in Holland; although Leicester gained, at first, some advantages, his total incapacity as a general displayed itself in his inability to follow them up.

It would appear, by the following letter, that the commanding officers of the army had so little to occupy them, that they took to quarrelling with each other about precedence.

No. XL.[2]

Essex to Leicester.

May it please your Excellency,—I haste to write unto you, though I have no other advertisements but of our own private wars, which, since I must needs think them more dangerous than the annoyance of any enemy, in my duty to your Excellency, and devotion to your service, I have despatched away this messenger to let you know both cause and proceedings thereof. My Lord Marshal, Sir W. Pelham[3],

[1] 10th December, 1585. Holinshed's Chronicle, London, 1587, vol. i. p. 1433, 1434.

[2] S. P. O. "Holland Correspondence."

[3] Third son of Sir William Pelham, of Laughton, Sussex, by Mary, daughter of William, Lord Sandys, a very experienced commander; he served in France, 1563; in Ireland, 1580, where he acted as governor in

finding some few places left by Sir John Norreys[1] for his troop, thought it fitter to lodge his horse and foot in the head of Sir John Norreys his company, leaving the other places for your Excellency, than, by possessing of them, to drive those troops which should attend upon your person to any further place. This was so ill taken by Sir John Norreys, that he sent my Lord Marshal a message by Captain Price, that he marvelled my L. Marshal would pass his quarter, he having commandment of all, and my L. Marshal only of the horse. My L. Marshal, by Mr. Provost Marshal, sent him both a mild and friendly answer, assuring he meant it only for your Excellency's service, and nothing for to prejudice him. But for his commandment, he knew well his place, and was here to command the whole troops, but desired to confer with him of some place where to encamp to-morrow altogether. To this he replied by Captain Price, and also by the Provost Marshal, that he had his commission from your Excellency, and except my Lord Marshal had one, and that better than his, he would not lose his commandment; besides many other speeches, but all tending to this end, that without farther authority given by your Excellency to my Lord Marshal, he would here command the troops. Wherefore having thus as I can advertised you of this proceeding, I must only wish in a duty to you, that your Excellency will take some present order herein, for without a discharge sent either to Sir John Norreys, or my L. Marshal, things cannot hold in these terms they do. For myself, though to no man living so much affectionate as to your service, I cannot but think every private man touched, our commander being thus quarrelled withal. And so commending my service to your

absence of the Deputy; marshal under the Earl of Leicester in Holland; died at Flushing, 1587; he was ancestor of the Earl of Yarborough.

[1] Second son of Henry, Lord Norreys, of Ricot. He died in Ireland, 1597.

honourable favour, and yourself to God's happy protection, I humbly take my leave. From the camp, this 21 August, 1586.

Your Excellency's son, most zealous of your service,

R. ESSEX.

The Prince of Parma took Grave on the Maas, Venlo, Nuys[1], and laid siege to Rhinberg, which being garrisoned by 1200 English, Leicester was compelled to active measures for its relief. Thinking himself too weak to force the Spaniards to raise the siege, he attacked Doesburg, and then threatened Zutphen, which was thought so important by the enemy, that he hastened to relieve it, and attempted to throw in a convoy of provisions, protected by 2000 foot and 700 horse, under the Marquis of Guasto.[2] Sir John Norreys, with 1500 foot and 200 horse, was sent to intercept this, and was accompanied by Essex, Sidney, and all the young gallants of the army, who were eager to cross their swords with the Spaniard. During a fog, they came unexpectedly upon the Spaniards; a sharp skirmish ensued, in which the latter were routed, but the pursuit was checked by the advance of the Prince of Parma in strength. Victory on our side was thought to be dearly bought at the expense of Sir Philip Sidney's life; who, having had his thigh shattered by a musket-ball, died of the wound on the 15th October.

For this action, fought on the 22nd September, and in which he greatly distinguished himself, Essex

[1] Neuss, near Dusseldorf.

[2] Son of Alphonso d'Avalos, Marquis of Guasto or Vasto.

was created Knight Banneret by the Earl of Leicester, with the Lords Willoughby, Audley, and North.[1]

Shortly afterwards the States, who were much dissatisfied with the manner in which Leicester conducted the war, and with his arbitrary conduct, demanded redress; and Leicester, without giving them satisfaction, returned to England, whither he was accompanied by the Earl of Essex.

On the 8th February, 1587, the Queen of Scots was beheaded. Mr. Davison, the secretary, by command of Elizabeth herself, drew up the warrant of execution, and after obtaining her signature, sent it to the Chancellor to have the Great Seal affixed; and was further directed by the Council to send off the warrant, they undertaking to bear him harmless, should the Queen be displeased.

It is impossible to read the history of this transaction without feeling the deepest contempt for a person who could act with such abominable duplicity as characterised Elizabeth on this occasion. When she heard of Mary's death, she affected the utmost surprise and indignation, put herself in mourning, and was only to be seen wailing and bathed in tears. The unlucky Davison, who had but too well furthered his mistress' wishes, was made the scapegoat on the occasion: he was condemned in the Star Chamber to

[1] Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby; born, 1555; succeeded Leicester as general of the English troops in Holland; died governor of Berwick, 1601. Henry Touchet, Lord Audley, died, 1595. Roger North, second lord; born, 1530; died, 1600. Harl. MSS. (305. 150.) states that Essex captured two ensigns from the Spaniards, which he sent home as trophies.

imprisonment during the royal pleasure, and to pay a fine of 10,000 marks, which was strictly levied to his total ruin. Essex, who already began to shine in the character of protector of the oppressed, vainly endeavoured to obtain Davison's pardon. On the 18th April he wrote from Greenwich to King James, requesting him to intercede in his favour. "Mr. "Davison, fallen into H. M. displeasure and disgrace, "beloved of the best and most religious in this land, "doth stand as barred from any preferment or re- "storing in this place, except, out of the honor and "nobleness of your royal heart, your Majesty will "undertake his cause. To leave the nature of his "fault imputed, to your Majesty's best judgment and "report of your own servant, and to speak of the "man, I must say, truly, that his sufficiency in "council and matters of state is such, as the Queen "herself confesseth in her kingdom she hath not such "another; his virtue, religion, and worth, in all "degrees, is of the world taken to be so great, as no "man in his good fortune hath had a more general "love than this gentleman in his disgrace; and if to "a man so worthy in himself, so esteemed of all men, "my words might avail anything, I would assure "your Majesty should get great honor, and great "love, not only here amongst us, but in all places of "Christendom where this gentleman is anything "known."[1]

How this strong appeal was received by the

[1] Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 79. 89.

Scottish King, we cannot say; but, if he responded to it, his efforts proved as unavailing as those of Essex, for Davison was never restored to favour.

It seems that, at this time, Leicester was fanning the flame of Elizabeth's preference for the youthful Essex. Growing old and weary of the laborious life of a favourite, he probably desired to transfer the work to one who, to the requisite qualifications, added that of close connexion with himself. Winstanley[2] says that he brought Essex to court, not so much out of love to him, as to be a counterpoise to Sir Walter Ralegh, who was then in high favour with the Queen. With these views he endeavoured to obtain the appointment of Essex to his place of Master of the Horse; the duties of which office required close attendance on the royal person; among others, to walk at her bridle rein when she rode in state. Anthony Bagot writes to his father in May, 1587:—

"My Lord, his pleasure is, that I shall attend, for he "told me with his own mouth, he looked to be "Master of the Horse within these ten days. It hath "been named to the Queen, but she saith she hath "no higher a place for my L. of Leicester, and he "telleth my L. he craveth nothing but that he may "resign his place unto my Lord. He hath also told "my L. what the office is, and what it is worth; "1500 pounds yearly, besides the keeping of his "draw horses, and his table; thus much, upon May "day, my Lord told me alone. Now for Her Majesty's

[1] Worthies of England.

" favor, singular countenance, and exceeding good " words, Mr. Littleton, at your meeting, can satisfy " you."

" When she is abroad, nobody near her but my L. " of Essex; and, at night, my Lord is at cards, or one " game or another with her, that he cometh not to " his own lodging till birds' sing in the morning. " Sir Walter Ralegh he is the hated man of the " world, in court, city, and country."[1]

That Queen Elizabeth did not share the feelings of the world towards Ralegh, the next letter of Essex shows. This letter has not the date of the year, but, as we find him writing from Theobalds on the 31st July, 1587, to inform Leicester that the news of the fall of Sluys had just arrived, it is undoubtedly correctly placed here; and is a remarkable letter, as showing in these early days of his favour, how little of it he owed to the wiles of the courtier. He appears to have argued his point as stoutly as in his palmiest days, though perhaps with less arrogance and obstinacy.

No. XLI.[2]

Essex to Mr. Edward Dier.

Mr. Dier, — I have been this morning at Winchester House to seek you; and I would have given a thousand pounds to have had one hour's speech with you; so much I would

[1] Blithfield MSS.

[2] Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 76. 46. Winchester House, the town house of the Bishops of Winchester, Lords of the manor of Southwark, stood between the church of St. Saviour's and the Thames.

hearken to your counsel, and so greatly do I esteem your friendship. Things are fallen out very strangely against me, since my last being with you. Yesternight the Queen came to North Hall, where my Lady of Warwick[1] would needs have my sister to be; which, though I knew not at the first, yet to prevent the worst, I made my Aunt Leighton signify so much unto the Queen before her coming from Theobalds[2], that, at her coming to North Hall, this matter might not seem strange unto her. She seemed to be well pleased and well contented with it, and promised to use her well.

Yesternight, after she was come, and knew my sister was in the house, she commanded my Lady of Warwick that my sister should keep her chamber; whereupon, being greatly troubled in myself, I watched when the Queen had supped, to have some speech with her, which I had at large, yet still she giving occasion thereof. Her excuse was, first, she knew not of my sister's coming; and, besides, the jealousy that the world would conceive, that all her kindness to my sister was done for love of myself. Such bad excuses gave me a theme large enough, both for answer of them, and to tell her what the true causes were; why she would offer this disgrace both to me and to my sister, which was only to please that knave Ralegh, for whose sake I saw she would both grieve me and my love, and disgrace me in the eye of the world.

From thence she came to speak of Ralegh; and it seemed she could not well endure any thing to be spoken against him; and taking hold of one word, *disdain*, she said there was no such cause why I should disdain him. This speech did trouble me so much, that, as near as I could, I did describe unto her what he had been, and what he was; and

[1] Anne, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford; third wife of Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. North Hall was the seat of Lord Warwick.

[2] Theobalds, the seat of Lord Burghley, afterwards exchanged by his son Robert with James I. for Hatfield.

then I did let her know whether I had cause to disdain his competition of love, or whether I could have comfort to give myself over to the service of a mistress that was in awe of such a man. I spake, what of grief and choler, as much against him as I could, and I think he, standing at the door, might very well hear the worst that I spoke of himself. In the end, I saw she was resolved to defend him and to cross me. From thence she came to speak bitterly against my mother, which, because I could not endure to see me and my house disgraced (the only matter which both her choler and the practise of mine enemies had to work upon), I told her, for my sister she should not any longer disquiet her; I would, though it were almost midnight, send her away that night; and for myself, I had no joy to be in any place, but loth to be near about her, when I knew my affection so much thrown down, and such a wretch as Ralegh highly esteemed of her. To this she made not answer, but turned her away to my Lady of Warwick. So at that late hour I sent my men away with my sister; and after, I came hither myself. This strange alteration is by Ralegh's means; and the Queen, that hath tried all other ways, now will see whether she can by those hard courses drive me to be friends with Ralegh, which rather shall drive me to many other extremities.

If you come hither by twelve of the clock, I would fain speak with you. My resolution will let me take no longer time. I will be this night at Margate; and, if I can, I will ship myself for the Flushing. I will see Sluys lost or relieved, which cannot be yet, but is now ready to be done. If I return, I will be welcomed home; if not, *una bella morire*, is better than a disquiet life. This course may seem strange, but the extreme unkind dealing with me drives me to it. My friends will make the best of it; mine enemies cannot say it is unhonest; the danger is mine, and I am content to abide the worst. Whatsoever becomes of me, God

grant her to be ever most happy; and so in haste I commit you to God.

Your's assured,

The 21 July. R. ESSEX.

If you shew my letter to any body, let it be to my mother and Mr. Secretary.

He did not succeed in escaping: we are told by Sir Robert Cary, in his Memoirs, that he was sent after the Earl of Essex, who had "slipped away" to go to Sluys. He overtook the Earl at Sandwich, on the point of embarking, rode back post with him a part of the way, then slipping away in his turn, returned to Sandwich, joined the Earl of Cumberland who had a ship ready, went over with him, and arrived at Sluys the day it surrendered.[1]

Which of Essex's sisters is alluded to is not quite certain; probably it was Lady Dorothy, who had, in July, 1583, clandestinely married Sir Thomas Perrott; a match which, from the manner in which it was contracted, and from the fact of her husband being of inferior rank, was certain to excite the anger of Elizabeth.[2]

Notwithstanding that the maiden Queen kept her young favourite in her apartments "*playing at one "game or another till birds' sing in the morning*," she

[1] Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth (Memoirs, Lond. 1759): he was fourth son of Henry, Lord Hunsdon; born, 1560; died, 1639.

George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, K.G.; born, 1558; died, 1605. A passion for adventure led this nobleman to make many voyages, in which and his amusements he dissipated his vast estates.

[2] An account of this marriage is given at page 156.

would not allow Leicester to make way for him until the death of Lord Hunsdon[1], Lord Steward of the Household, enabled her to promote the former. It was not till the 23rd of December, 1587, that Essex became Master of the Horse.

[1] Henry Cary, first Lord Hunsdon, was cousin-german to the Queen.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

SPANISH ARMADA. — ESSEX GENERAL OF THE HORSE. — HIS DUEL WITH SIR CHARLES BLOUNT. — HE ELOPES FROM COURT, AND JOINS THE PORTUGAL EXPEDITION UNDER NORREYS AND DRAKE. — THE QUEEN'S ANGER. — HIS RETURN. — HIS MARRIAGE. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR SENDING A CONTINGENT TO NORMANDY. — ESSEX'S ANXIETY TO JOIN IT. — HE GOES TO NORMANDY, JULY, 1591. — — VISITS HENRY IV. — ELIZABETH DISPLEASED. — THREATENS TO RECAL HIM. — DEATH OF HIS BROTHER WALTER. — GRIEF AND ILLNESS. — LETTERS DETAILING HIS PROCEEDINGS. — THE QUEEN NOT SATISFIED. — ORDERS HIM TO RETURN.

THE year 1588 is one of the most memorable in the annals of England, for the Spanish attempt at invasion, and the defeat and dispersion of the so called *Invincible Armada.* On this occasion, the really great qualities which Elizabeth possessed blazed forth, and created a halo of glory around her which dazzled the world, till it was believed that all the attributes of the most virtuous, noble, and feminine character were hers. With dauntless courage she determined to resist to the death the attack of what seemed to be an overwhelming force. With the utmost vigour and prudence she made all necessary preparations by sea and land. With unwearying energy she encouraged the feeble, roused the depressed, spurred on the indolent. At the head of her army she made a speech, which filled the hearts of her soldiers with enthusiastic admiration, and a firm resolution to die

ere their hearths should be polluted by the foreign invader. Truly she had the heart of a lion: pity that of all the generous and kindly emotions which warm the human heart, not one, as far as we know, ever found a resting-place in her bosom.

I do not describe the events of that soul-stirring time; they belong to history. Essex was retained near the person of his royal mistress, apparently to his discontent; for in none did the fire of chivalry, and hatred of the Spaniard, burn more strongly. He was ultimately appointed General of the Horse, although the subjoined letter shows that it was not till after some delay. The address of the letter is lost: it was probably to Secretary Walsingham.

No. XLII.[1]

Essex to ————.

Sir,—I pray you have care of my cousin, Fulke Greville, for his company of lances. The opinion of service encreaseth, and he is already at the camp. You shall do him and me a great favor to cause his despatch. For myself, I made yesternight a resolute end with the Queen, for she told me of herself, that she would not have me discontented, though she disposed of the office of General of the Horse about her person on some other, which she did resolve upon. I told Her Majesty I could be as well content to serve her privately in the field as to take an office here with such conditions. Upon Wednesday I mean to go to the camp, which I do humbly desire you to further; for, as you well know, it is not now fit for me to tarry here. And so recommending my

[1] Harl. MSS. 286. 144.

cousin Greville's suit to your speedy remembrance, I humbly take my leave. From York House, at midnight, this 29th July, 1588.

Yours most faithfully,

R. ESSEX.

On the 11th April, 1588, Essex, at that time esteemed one of the best poets among the nobility of England, was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford[1], the better to enable him to stand for the Chancellorship of that University; but, when the occasion offered on the death of the Earl of Leicester, in September, the Queen forced the University to elect Sir Christopher Hatton. Instead of University dignities, Essex succeeded to the more dangerous honours of a royal favourite; a situation which he was ill calculated to fill, his open and impetuous disposition, and his chivalrous desire for military distinction, alike disqualifying him for the peaceful intrigues of the Court.

In 1588[2] he was installed a Knight of the Garter. At this period occurred the celebrated quarrel with Sir Charles Blount[3], a younger brother of Lord Mountjoy, who had made his appearance at court a few years before, when his good looks found favour in the royal eyes. Sir Charles having distinguished

[1] Fasti Oxon. I. col. 244., in company with Lord Clinton, Sir John and Sir Henry Norreys, Sir R. Sydney, Sir P. Butler, Sir R. Carew, Fulke Greville, and Francis Darcy. It was called the Essexian creation.

[2] Harl. MSS. 305. 150. Illustratio stili Roberti Comit. Essexiæ states he was made K.G. before he was twenty-one.

[3] Second son of James, sixth Lord Mountjoy; he was born, 1563; came to Court at twenty years of age; was knighted, 1586; served in the English fleet against the Spanish Armada.

himself one day in the tilt-yard, Elizabeth sent him a chess-queen in gold richly enamelled, which he fastened on his arm with a crimson ribbon. Essex passing through the anti-chamber, observed Blount with his cloak thrown over his arm, the better to display the piece, and asked what it meant; on being informed, he exclaimed, "Now, I perceive, every fool must wear a favour;" which insolent speech being reported to Blount, he challenged the Earl: they met in Mary-le-bone Park, and Essex was disarmed and slightly wounded in the thigh. The Queen missing Essex, made inquiries; and on being informed of the truth, declared with her favourite oath, "By God's death, it were fitting some "one should take him down, and teach him better "manners, or there were no rule with him." She reprimanded them both, and insisted on their being reconciled, after which a firm friendship rapidly grew up between them, which was only terminated by death. Although Elizabeth pretended to be angry, she did not conceal the pleasant fancy she had that her beauty was the cause of their quarrel.

Essex had scarcely secured the favour of the Queen, when an event occurred, which, showing how infinitely a romantic spirit of knight-errantry surpassed all other passions in his breast, aroused Elizabeth's anger and jealousy. We must relate the origin of this escapade.

Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, claimant of the crown of Portugal, had been driven out by Philip II. of Spain, after the conquest of that country. Don

Antonio repaired first to France, and afterwards to England, where he represented to Elizabeth that the love borne him by the Portuguese and their readiness to receive him as King were such, that if she would but land him in that country, it would be sufficient to ensure his success. Accordingly, twenty-six ships, of which, however, only six were of the royal navy, having on board 11,000 soldiers, under Sir John Norreys and Sir Francis Drake, were appointed to this service. They were instructed, first, to distress the Spanish ships of war in Guipuscoa, Biscay, and Galicia; then, if it could be done without great hazard, and with fair prospect of success, to assist Don Antonio in the recovery of Portugal from the Spaniards; after which, with the consent of Don Antonio, to take possession of such of the Azores as would best serve for intercepting the Spanish treasure ship from the West Indies.

This expedition to succour a distressed Prince and annoy Spain exactly suited the temper of Essex, who earnestly desired to join it; but the Queen would not hear of his going, and he resolved to make his escape from Court, and go without leave. How well he effected this, two letters will show; the one from Anthony Bagot to his father, describes the manner of his flight; the secrecy of which, and the extraordinary rapidity of his journey,—leaving London Thursday night, and reaching Plymouth on horseback before Saturday morning, a distance of about 220 miles,—are remarkable; and the other from

Norreys and Drake to the Council, explains how he had evaded them on arriving at Plymouth.

Essex was accompanied by his brother Walter, Sir Roger Williams[1], Sir Edward Wingfield[2], and was subsequently joined by Sir Philip Butler. By Mr. Broughton's news-letter to Mr. Bagot of the 6th April, it appears that none could guess where he had gone. He states that Lord Huntingdon and Sir Francis Knollys returned from a fruitless pursuit: that the Queen had again sent off Sir William Knollys[3], and Sir Thomas Gorge post; that it was reported at "Paul's," that as Norreys and Drake would not dare to take him with them, he would go to join the King of Navarre against the League. He ends, "God send this desperate, success good."

No. XLIII.[4]

Anthony Bagot to Richard Bagot.

My very good Father, — Because I know that ill news flieth faster than good, I am to certify you the truth of such accidents as have happened. My Lord upon Thursday night last (3rd. April), with one Reynolds, a gentleman of his chamber, and another that kept his hunting horses, betwixt five and six of the clock, took horse in St. James's Park. My Lord desired my Lord Rich to stay in his chamber, and he would come to supper with him. But my L. is gone to Plymouth,

[1] Sir Roger Williams, a gallant and distinguished soldier, the roughness of whose manners made him unpopular, was a native of Monmouthshire. He was a devoted follower of the Earl of Essex.

[2] Son of Sir Richard Wingfield, who settled in Ireland; he was ancestor of Viscount Powerscourt.

[3] Eldest son of Sir Francis; created, by James I., Earl of Banbury.

[4] Blithfield MSS.

and, I fear, away with the fleet to Portingale; for two posts came to him that day from Plymouth, and from Exeter to Plymouth laid his post-horses ready. Sir Francis Knollys, his uncle, the next day went post after him, with letters to stay him; but I fear he could not reach him, for my L. was at Plymouth before Saturday morning, when his uncle was not half way; and he told his man that kept his horses, and brought them back again, that he would not stay two hours in Plymouth, howsoever the wind was; for if the wind were contrary he would drag out the pinnace that was left for him, and, as we can learn, the whole fleet went away on Friday morning. My Lord Huntingdon upon Friday night went after him also, and how they speed we know not yet. But he that brought back the horses which carried my L. eighty miles and eight, brought my Lord Rich a letter, and the keys of his desk, wherein there was letters above forty, of my L., his own handwriting, to the Queen, the Council, and other of his friends in court, and his servants, with resolution not to be stayed by any commandment excepting death. For so much I read myself in a letter to Will. Fowkes and W. Leighton, to come after him with such speed as may be, and bring such necessaries as therein was contained; but he neither writ nor spake any word of me, but referred all to my Lord Rich and Sir Ph. Butler, and so I am appointed to wait and keep my L. his lodgings and his table, till I be commanded the contrary. And thus in haste till I have another messenger: humbly craving your daily blessing and my good mother's, I take my leave. Court, Whitehall, 8 April, 1589.

Your most obedient son,

Anthony Bagot.

My Lady Burghley[1] died on Friday morning; my Lord

[1] Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Giddy Hall, Essex; second wife of Lord Burghley.

Treasurer very sick of the gout; Secretary Walsingham not well; and Sir W. Mildmay[1] very sick.

No. XLIV.[2]

Sir J. Norreys and Sir F. Drake to the Privy Council.

May it please your LL. On Sunday last in the morning, understanding by your LL. letters sent by Sir Francis Knollys[3], that the Earl of Essex should be departed from the Court without Her Majesty's licence; and then also understanding a ship of Her Majesty's, called the Swiftsure, was gone forth to sea that night, we entered into some mistrust of the Earl's departure to sea in the said ship; whereupon we presently sent forth a pinnace to follow the said ship, wherein Sir Francis Knollys went; and thereby wrote our letters to the said Earl (if it should fall out he were there), according to your LL. letters, requiring his L. to return, and alleging your pleasure in that behalf; but that pinnace not being able to weather the point next the harbor, and thereby forced to come in again that night, this day, the weather being some calmer, we sent forth again to sea another pinnace, wherein also Sir Francis Knollys is, whereof hitherto we have no news. Immediately whereupon the Earl of Huntingdon being come hither, we have understood further of Her Majesty's pleasure. And we humbly beseech your LL. not to conceive we would in any sort consent to a matter so displeasing to Her Majesty, and which, in regard of the action we have in hand, and our own particular, we would by no means permit, his L. being a personage whose presence at the Court may be more available unto us than his going in this service. For our own part, we protest unto

[1] Sir W. Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; died, 31st May 1589.

[2] S. P. O.

[3] Fourth son of Sir Francis Knollys: he lived to be a member of the Long Parliament, and died at the age of ninety-nine.

your LL., upon our faith and credit, we will not fail to use all possible means we may to procure his return, according as by our duties and your LL. commandment we ought to do. Since the coming of the Earl of Huntingdon, we have again written to the Earl and Sir Roger Williams, who is gone with the Earl, to require them to return. So we humbly leave your LL. to the protection of God. From Plymouth, the 7 April, 1589.

The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 14th April; still no tidings of the truant had reached the court; the Queen, a prey to anxiety, jealousy, and anger, tormented herself and all about her. On the 4th May, nothing having been yet heard of Essex, Her gracious Majesty wrote the following letter to Sir John Norreys and Sir Francis Drake. Sir F. Walsingham, to whom it was submitted, writes to Secretary Windebank, that he is averse to the sending of this letter, as Sir Roger Williams is so greatly beloved both by captains and soldiers, that he fears it may breed division in the army, to the overthrow of the action and Her Majesty's dishonour, should he be proceeded against. It certainly was not fair to make Sir Roger Williams answerable for the freak of Essex; and though the letter was sent, it was never acted upon; time, and the success of the expedition, spared the Queen this act of injustice.

No. XLV.[1]

The Queen to Norreys and Drake

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Although we doubt not but of yourselves you have so thoroughly

[1] Draught in S. P. O. 4th May, 1589.

weighed the heinousness of the offence lately committed by Roger Williams, that you have both discharged him from the place and charge which was appointed him in that army, and committed the same to some other meet person (as we doubt not but you have choice of as sufficient as he is), and that you have also laid punishment upon him according to his desert; yet we would not but you should also know from ourself, by these our special letters, our just wrath and indignation against him, and lay before you his intolerable contempt against ourself, and the authority you have from us, in that he forsook the army, and conveyed away also one of our principal ships from the rest of the fleet. In which points his offence is in so high a degree, that the same deserveth by all laws to be punished by death, which if you have not already done (and whereunto we know your authority as General doth warrant you), then we will and command you that you sequester him from all charge and service, and cause him to be safely kept, so as he slip not away until you shall know our further pleasure therein, as you will answer for the contrary at your perils; for as we have authority to rule, so we look to be obeyed, and to have obedience directly and surely continued unto us, and so look to be answered herein at your hands. Otherwise we will think you unworthy of the authority you have, and that you know not how to use it. In the mean time we have also found it strange, that, before your departing from Plymouth, you should either be so careless, or suffer yourselves so easily to be abused, that any of our ships, much more a principal ship, should be in such manner conveyed away from the rest of the fleet, and afterwards, also being so near as Falmouth (as we understood), should not by your commandment and direction be stayed; a matter which we cannot but remember unto you, and yet we do hope that you are no partakers of the offence that is committed.

And if Essex be now come into the company of the fleet, we straightly charge you that, all dilatory excuse set apart, you do forthwith cause him to be sent hither in safe manner; which if you do not, you shall look to answer for the same to your smart, for these be no childish actions, nor matters wherein you are to deal by cunning of devises, to seek evasions, as the customs of lawyers is; neither will we be so satisfied at your hands. Therefore consider well of your doings herein.

Essex sailed from Falmouth about the same time as Norreys and Drake from Plymouth, but did not fall in with them, as will be seen, for a month.

The main expedition "fell in with Ortugal, the "wind blowing very much easterly." On the 23d April and on the following day, 7000 men were landed at Corunna, and on the 25th the lower town was taken by assault. A galleon in the harbour was burnt. The Conde de Andrada with 8000 men was defeated at Puente de Burgos, six miles from Corunna. An attempt was made on the citadel by mining, which not succeeding, and the weather being very bad, "blowing very much with a great sea, and "continued showers of rain, which did somewhat let "the service,"[1] they resolved to lose no more time there; and taking with them the captured artillery, sailed on the 8th May. The passage to the southward was delayed by contrary winds. On the 13th the Swiftsure, with Essex and his companions, joined the fleet, having, in ignorance of its destination, been as far as Cape St. Vincent, where he took some ships

[1] Drake to Burghley, 8th May, 1589. S. P. O.

laden with corn. The Generals write, "as soon as "we met with the Earl of Essex, we did our en- "deavours for his L. present return, according as "we were required, but the wind being east and "northerly ever since his L. being in these parts, "we doubted whether we might spare out of the fleet "a ship of so good service as the Swiftsure;"[1]—and so, in short, Essex had his way.

On the 16th they landed under the guns of the castle of Peniche, in so heavy a surf, that all ran great risk, one boat was upset, and twenty men were drowned. Sir Edward Norreys[2] says that Essex "was the first that landed, who, by reason the billows "were so great, waded to the shoulders to come "ashore." With his brother and Sir Roger Williams he divided the men he had landed into two troops, one kept along shore, the other passing the sand hills, penetrated inland. The enemy joined battle, were repulsed, and fled, leaving the town undefended, which was summoned, and immediately surrendered to Don Antonio. It was resolved that the sick and wounded should be left here, that the army should march to Lisbon, and Drake with the fleet meet them there. Having taken the castle of Torres Vedras on their way, the army arrived on the 24th within three miles of Lisbon. At 11 o'clock at night Essex, with Sir Roger Williams and 1000 men, advanced to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and, placing the main body

[1] Norreys and Drake to Council, from Cascaes, 5th June, 1589. S. P. O.

[2] Sixth son of Lord Norreys, of Ricot, and the only one who outlived his parents.

in ambuscade, sent forward a few men to alarm the town, but the enemy refusing to sally out after them, Essex returned to the camp at daybreak.

On the 25th they took possession of the deserted suburbs, the inhabitants having carried their valuables within the walls, and set on fire some storehouses of corn and wine. The next night, our men being greatly fatigued with their march, the watch was not strictly kept, and the enemy sallying surprised them, and inflicted considerable loss; but Essex, "full of "high spirits, and hote youthly bloud, bore them "back,"[1] and pursued them to the gates with such slaughter, that their loss in numbers and quality tripled that of the English.

Drake, meantime, arriving by sea, had taken possession of Cascaes.

The Portuguese had promised to aid Don Antonio with 3000 men, to meet him at Lisbon by a given day, now long past, yet only 40 horse had come in; and the chief places being in possession of the enemy, the town too strong to be forced without artillery, the Portuguese backward, disease making its appearance, and more having been performed than was promised, the General refused Don Antonio's request to stay nine days longer, and drew off to Cascaes, himself, Essex, and Sir R. Williams commanding the rear-guard.

Before leaving Lisbon, Essex thrust his pike into the gate of the town, demanding aloud if any Spaniard mewed therein durst adventure forth in favour of his

[1] Speed. ed. 1632, p. 1190.

mistress to break a lance. "But those gallants thought "it safer to court their ladies with amorous discourses, "than to have their loves written on their breasts "with the point of his English spear."[1]

Hearing at Cascaes that the enemy had issued from Lisbon intending to engage the English, Sir J. Norreys sent a trumpet to promise their General that he would meet him next morning if he durst wait. Essex sent him a cartel, offering himself against any Spaniard of equal quality; or else six, eight, or ten, to try single combat between the two armies.

The Don resisted all these alluring invitations, and having marched out from Lisbon, he straight marched back again.

The castle of Cascaes fell to the English, and a large convoy of ships, laden with corn, copper, wax, masts, and cables, was also taken. Here the service of Essex ended, for vessels arriving with a supply of provisions, brought him the well-known letter from the Queen, which had been sent from court by Sir William Knollys and Sir Thomas Gorge, after he had sailed from Falmouth. In obedience to its contents, he sailed for England on the 4th June.

No. XLVI.[2]

The Queen to Essex.

Essex, — Your sudden and undutiful departure from our presence and your place of attendance, you may easily conceive how offensive it is, and ought to be, unto us. Our great favours bestowed on you without deserts, hath drawn

[1] Speed. ed. 1632, p. 1190. [2] This letter has been frequently printed.

you thus to neglect and forget your duty; for other constructions we cannot make of these your strange actions. Not meaning, therefore, to tolerate this your disordered part, we gave directions to some of our Privy Council to let you know our express pleasure for your immediate repair hither; which you have not performed, as your duty doth bind you, increasing greatly thereby your former offence and undutiful behaviour, in departing in such sort without our privity, having so special office of attendance and charge near our person. We do therefore charge and command you forthwith, upon receipt of these our letters, all excuses and delays set apart, to make your present and immediate repair unto us, to understand our farther pleasure. Whereof see you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our indignation, and will answer for the contrary at your uttermost peril. The 15th April, 1589.

Essex soon made his peace with the Queen; indeed, she was too happy at having him again near her, to remember that she had cause of offence.

Dr. Lingard[1] makes the quarrel with Blount, already related, take place after his return; when, finding Ralegh and Blount competitors for favour, he took the lead of both, quarrelled as related with the one, and obtained an order for Ralegh "to go and "plant" his grant of 10,000 acres in Ireland.

Already the profusion and carelessness of expense which characterised him, had brought the Earl into difficulties; indeed it appears by a letter of his to the Vice-Chamberlain—one of the forty left in his desk—that the hope of bettering his fortunes was among the inducements to the Portugal voyage.

[1] History of England, 5th edit. 1849.

No. XLVII.[1]

Essex to Sir F. Knollys.

Sir,—What my courses have been I need not repeat, for no man knoweth them better than yourself. What my state now is, I will tell you: my revenue no greater than when I sued my livery; my debts at the least two or three and twenty thousand pounds; Her Majesty's goodness hath been so great as I could not ask more of her; no way left to repair myself but mine own adventure, which I had much rather undertake than to offend Her Majesty with suits, as I have done heretofore. If I should speed well, I will adventure to be rich; if not, I will never live to see the end of my poverty. And so, wishing that this letter, which I have left for you, may come to your hands, I commit you to God's good protection. From my study, some few days before my departure.

Your assured friend,

R. ESSEX.

Notwithstanding the expressions in this note, it would appear by the letter, which stands next in order, that the Queen's "goodness" had not led her into the extravagance of giving, but that she was now rather an importunate creditor for the repayment of a loan, which compelled Essex, in June 1590, either to sell, or transfer to her in payment, the manor of Keyston, in Huntingdonshire. Another letter, about the same time, informs us that Essex had succeeded Leicester in the "farm of sweet wines," that grant which, in after years, the Queen with such bitter words refused to renew to him.

[1] Murdin, p. 634.

No. XLVIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Madam,—As in love there can be nothing more bitter than unkindness, so than that there is no truer a touchstone of an humble and constant faith. Since it pleaseth your Majesty to try me with what duty and patience I can bear the hard measure that is offered me, I will humbly crave pardon to tell your Majesty without offence, what sense I have of it. When it pleased your Majesty to send me word you would forbear the 3000*l.* for six months longer, your kindness in it was a greater satisfaction to my mind than the loan of so much money could be a benefit to my purse; and now that your Majesty repents yourself of the favour you thought to do me, I would I could, with the loss of all the land I have, as well repair the breach which your unkind answer hath made in my heart, as I can with the sale of one poor manor answer the sum which your Majesty takes of me. Money and land are base things, but love and kindness are excellent things, and cannot be measured but by themselves. Therefore I will not charge your Majesty refusing me so small a matter, nor tell you that you once promised it; but I will assure you that I will owe you all duty for ever, and I must needs love you till I be discouraged. And so humbly kissing your fair hands, I wish what your royal heart wisheth most.

Your Majesty's most humble servant,

London, this 7th Oct. R. ESSEX.

[1] This is the first of the Essex letters in the possession of Mr. Hulton. There are in all fifty original letters, of which number forty-three are written by this Earl Robert. These letters are in admirable preservation, the original folding of the letters, and the silk fastening apparently just cut, would, but for the discoloration, almost make one doubt that nearly three centuries have passed since they were written.

No. XLIX.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I do understand that my Lord of Ormonde, at the entreaty of Sir Tho. Cecil, is content I shall deliver the land for him unto the Queen, which Her Majesty is to receive in exchange. I am desirous to deliver the manor of Keyston in Huntingdonshire, not that I would rather part with it than anything else, but because I know your L. in these cases will look to the goodness of the Queen's bargain, without doing favour to any man whatsoever. This manor is of mine ancient inheritance, free from incumbrance; a great circuit of ground, in a very good soil, surveyed by Mr. Taverner for me this last year; but I am so far in debt, and so weary of owing, as sell I must; and so, though your L. do me no favour in the matter, you shall do me great favour in the cheering of my estate to accept this land. And so committing your L. to God's good protection, I rest most ready to do your L. service.

R. ESSEX.

[Not dated, but endorsed on the back, June 13. 1590.]

No. L.[2]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I do understand that certain merchants, strangers, having brought in sweet wines into the port of London, the extraordinary impost which was given by Her Majesty to English merchants,—and now I hear without Her Majesty's new grant or order from your LL. herein,—is yet, notwithstanding, demanded of them; I do humbly crave your L. favor herein, that as my Lord of Leicester, who had the farm that I now have, had a promise of Her Majesty,

[1] Lansd. MSS. 63. 65.

[2] Lansd. MSS. 63. 62.

that this new imposition, upon expiration of their lease, should cease, so I may have your L. no adversary in obtaining the same to be performed; and that, in the mean time, your L. will be pleased they may unload their goods, paying but the ordinary, which by Her Majesty's letters patent is due. And so I commit your L. to God's best protection, resting most devoted to do you service.

15 May, 1590. R. ESSEX.

On the 6th April, 1590, Sir F. Walsingham died, when Essex renewed his efforts to obtain Mr. Davison's pardon and restoration as Secretary: his letter to that gentleman shows with how little success.

No. LI.[1]

Essex to Mr. Davison.

Sir,—Upon this unhappy accident I have tried to the bottom what the Queen will do for you, and what the credit of your solicitor is worth. I urged not the comparison between you and any other, but in my duty to her, and zeal to her service, I did assure her that she had not any other in England, that would for these three or four years know how to settle himself to support so great a burthen. She gave me leave to speak, heard me with patience, confessed with me that none was so sufficient, and could not deny but that which she lays to your charge was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any respect of your own, but merely for her safety both of state and person. In the end she absolutely denied to let you enjoy that place, and willed me to hold myself satisfied, for she was resolved. This much I write, to let you know that I am more honest to my friends than happy in their causes. What you will have me do for your

[1] Harl. MSS. 290. 235.

suit I will as far as my credit is any thing worth. I have told most of the Council of my manner of dealing with the Queen. My L. Chancellor tells me he hath dealt for you also, and they all say they wish as I do; but in this world that is not enough. I will commit you for this time to God, and rest your constant and true friend,

R. ESSEX.

Sir Francis Walsingham, although with the office of Secretary he held those of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and of the Order of the Garter, died so poor that, to avoid expense, he was privately buried in St. Paul's by night. Fuller sums up his character in these words: "Of him it may be "said, abate for disproportion, as of St. Paul, though "poor, yet making many rich, having but one "daughter, whose extraordinary handsomeness, with "a moderate portion, would considerably prefer her "in marriage, he neglected wealth in himself, though "I may say he enriched many, not only of his de-"pendants, but even the English nation, by his "prudent steering of many affairs."[1]

The one daughter here mentioned was the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, and about the time of her father's death she became the wife of the Earl of Essex. This marriage having been a private one, to avoid the prohibition which would surely have followed Elizabeth's knowledge of their intentions, we are unable to ascertain the exact date, if any record exists. Their first child, Robert, was christened

[1] Worthies of England.

on the 22nd January, 1591[1], which gives us an approximate date for the marriage. It appears to have been kept secret from the Queen until Lady Essex's pregnancy betrayed itself: then her anger knew no bounds against Essex, not merely because he took a wife without asking her consent, but for marrying, as she said, below his degree. One would have thought the daughter of so distinguished and upright a public servant as Sir Francis Walsingham might have been esteemed a fair match even for Lord Essex. He soon made his peace; and it argues a very strong degree of attachment in a woman of such intense vanity, and such a bitter, envious spirit as Elizabeth, that she so soon pardoned this fresh proof on the part of Essex, that she did not reign over his heart as over his person.

We are told that, in the middle of October, Lady Essex came to Walsingham House, "waited on as "the Countess of Essex." Mr. John Stanhope writing to Lord Talbot[2], says that the "Queen comes next "Saturday (7 November) to Somerset House[3], and "if she could overcome her passion against my L. "of Essex for his marriage, no doubt she would be "much the quieter; yet doth she use it more tem- "perately than was thought for, and God be thanked

[1] Extracts from parish register of St. Olave's, Hart Street, in Collect. Topog. et Geneal. vol. ii. p. 311.

[2] Gilbert, Lord Talbot succeeded his father George, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, 1590; he married Mary, daughter of Sir William Cavendish and Bess of Hardwicke.

[3] Somerset House was built by the Protector Somerset, and was unfinished at his execution, 1552. It stood on the site of the present building. — See Handbook of London.

" doth not strike all she threats. The Earl doth use " it with good temper, concealing his marriage as " much as so open a matter may be, not that he " denies it to any, but for Her Majesty's better satis- " faction is pleased that my Lady shall live very " retired in her mother's house."[1] On the 24th November he writes, " My Lord of Essex is in very " good favour."

In October, 1590, Henry IV., who had succeeded to the throne of France the 1st of August of the previous year, on the assassination of Henry III., and who was hard pressed by the League, and had been forced by the Prince of Parma, at the head of the Spanish army, to raise the blockade of Paris, sent the Viscount Turenne[2] to England, to solicit assistance from the Queen. His instructions, dated at Gisors, in October, 1590, after directing him to treat for an auxiliary force to be sent into France, proceed thus: " — Après ce dernier devoir rendu, il visitera M. le " Comte d'Essex, de la part de Sa Majesté, auquel " il dira: Qu'elle est bien informé de l'affection " qu'il continue envers elle, et des temoignages qu'il " en rend de jour à autre: ce qu'elle reconnoit " preuve de son bon naturel, et en rend S. M. " d'autant plus obligé en son endroit, dont elle le " remercie; et parcequ'elle se promet qu'il fera tous " bons offices pour l'avancement des affaires dont le

[1] Lodge's Illustr. 1838, ii. 422.

[2] Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, who, by his marriage with Charlotte de la Merck, became Duc de Bouillon; born, 1555; married, secondly, Elizabeth of Nassau, daughter of William I., Prince of Orange, by whom he had two sons, of whom the younger was the great Turenne.

" dit Sieur de Turenne à charge de parler à la dite " Dame, en pourra communiquer avec lui-même du " secours d'hommes pour une occasion prompte qui se " pourrait offrir, ainsi qu'il pourra entendre; et lui " priera d'employer tout son bon credit pour y " rendre la dite Dame d'autant plus facile et favor- " able."

Essex required no urging: the idea of succouring so chivalrous a prince as Henry against the League and the Spaniards, in defence of the Protestant religion, was enough to inflame his imagination to the utmost; but to insure his good offices, Henry wrote himself to Essex.

No. LII.[1]

Henry IV. to Essex.

Mon Cousin,—Je m'assure que vous êtes tant plus observateur des intentions de la Reine, Madame ma bonne sœur, que, connaissant l'affection dont elle favorise mes affaires, vous y voudrez aussi prêter la bonne main, en ce qui dépendra de vous; à cette cause, envoyant mon Cousin, le Vicomte de Turenne, premier gentilhomme de ma chambre, vers elle, pour de là passer en Allemagne, je vous ai bien voulu par lui écrire la présente, pour vous prier aider, en ce que vous pourrez la bonne expédition de laquelle, la charge qu'il a de moi au dit pays d'Allemagne a besoin d'être accompagnée de la part de la dite Dame; comme je me tiens assuré pour son regard qu'il l'y trouvera bien disposée, ainsi qu'en toutes choses, et par bons effets, elle a fait paroitre sa bonne volonté en mon endroit; à laquelle joignant vos bons offices, pour en

[1] Life of Chancellor Egerton, p. 367.

faciliter l'exécution, je les recevrai de votre part à singulier plaisir, que je reconnoitrai volontiers ou m'employerez. Priant Dieu, &c.

HENRY.

It is needless to say that Essex used his utmost endeavours to forward the French King's wishes, for he ardently desired himself to lead the troops on that service. How earnest he was, and what difficulty he had in overcoming the Queen's objections, the following extracts from correspondence will show. M. Beauvoir la Nocle writes to his master, 4th February 1591, "Le Comte d'Essex fait toujours son compte "de passer en France, et espére de pouvoir obtenir "son congé pour un ou deux mois; il dit, que quand "il aura l'honneur d'être près de V. M. il en em- "pruntera bien quatre; il nous donne encore hier à "diner a tous trois, avec toutes les courtoises façons "qui se peuvent desirer; il ne desire pas que V. M. "écrive pour son congé, car il craindroit que cela "n'offensât cette Princesse."

Turenne also, on the 2nd March 1591, writes, "Il n'est pas croyable l'affection du Comte d'Essex; "il est besoin que V. M. se conserve l'amitié de ce "seigneur; l'on a plus de peine à le retenir qu'à "le pousser."

A force sent to Brittany had been put under Sir John Norreys' command, much to the discontent of Essex; but Turenne had a plan for driving the Leaguers out of Normandy, which he was to submit to the Queen, and to which ultimately her consent was gained; and Essex was appointed to the command

of this auxiliary body, though not until he had adopted the usual resource of Elizabeth's discontented courtiers, by absenting himself for three or four days. M. Beauvoir la Nocle thought he would not have returned so soon, if she had not sent to promise that he should be satisfied with higher dignities than those granted to Norreys. The ambassador thus details to the French King the determination with which Essex prosecuted his suit, and the reluctance of Elizabeth to part with him:—"Le dit Comte m'a "dit que la Reine d'Angleterre l'a refusé trois fois, à "la moindre desquelles, il avoit demeuré plus de "deux heures à genoux devant elle; et enfin lui "resolut, qu'il n'étoit pas honnête, qu'elle envoyasse "un de plus grande qualité au Prince de Dombes, "que celui qu'elle avoit envoyé à V. M. Bref, ce "jeune seigneur brûle de desir de lui faire service, et "m'apperçois que de jour à autre cette volonté lui "croit."

The terms being at length settled on which an English force was to be sent to Normandy, and Essex having gained his point, he thus exultingly announces to Mr. Bagot his approaching departure.

No. LIII.[1]

Essex to Richard Bagot.

Mr. Bagot,—I am commanded into France for the establishing of the brave King in quiet possession of Normandy. I carry a company of horse, and do say, my friends in all places, if you know any, or can stir up any, that will send either tall

[1] Blithfield MSS.

men well horsed, or good horses or geldings, they shall be very welcome to me. I would have them to be here by the 10th July at the furthest. I commend you to God's best protection. London, June 20th, 1591.

Your assured friend,

ESSEX.

I pray you acquaint Sir Walter Aston with my letter.

All the tenants of Chartley were called on to furnish their quota according to their leases, and to expect "no friendship after" if they did not exert themselves; although, as Mr. Broughton writes in a subsequent letter, "My Lord does not wish them—"the tenants—to be charged above their abilities, "but he expects all will be willing to contribute, much "more they that are bound by their leases." Essex himself is so "busied with infinite things" that he has no leisure to write again to Mr. Bagot.

No. LIV.[1]

Richard Broughton to Richard Bagot.

Sir,—My Lord willed me to write unto you, because he hath not present leisure, to request you to call all the tenants of Chartley Holme before you: and because he is to go in person to the wars, they are bound by their leases, some to furnish a horseman, and most a footman, and some of the smaller tenements to furnish a man. Upon the haste of this bearer, my brother Anthony, I cannot send you perfect notes what every one is to find. But I have abstracted a little out of the old survey, but some of those names are

[1] Blithfield MSS.

altered, and I have not time to put it now more certain; but to supply that you may see their new leases; and if it be not expressed in the new it is contained in the general words, to do all former reservations, &c. My Lord would have this money that should be bestowed to furnish a footman and horseman, amounting about vi*l.* xiii*s.* iiii*d.* a footman, and xiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* a horseman, should be bestowed for the providing of as many strong geldings or horses that can thereabouts be provided; and the overplus to be sent up to my Lord to provide elsewhere. If there be any tall and gallant minded fellows that will go this journey, and be able in good sort to furnish himself, he may see great service, and my Lord will make account of them. By the next messengers my Lord himself shall write unto you his own letters, with the notes necessary, upon the perusal of the leases and of his further mind. In the mean time he knoweth you will accept of his mind signified by me. My Lord expecteth from all parts to have his company ready against the xiii. of July, and would have his horses here about the x. of July. The tenants [redacted] his necessity of service are to make no excuses; if they [redacted] their leases are void, and my Lord is not to use any friendship afterwards to those that will not do their duty in furnishing him in this service, and they that will refuse, my Lord will use the extremity of the forfeiture, and of their covenants. I am in haste to write letters to Bugbrooke, Keyston, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, &c.; and until the next messenger, upon more leisure, I must commend you and yours to God. This 27th June, 1591.

The commission of the Earl of Essex, to command the auxiliary force in Normandy, was dated at Greenwich, the 21st of July, 1591.

His instructions[1] commence by stating, that the

[1] S. P. O.

French King has, by M. de Reaux, made earnest request for a further aid, in addition to the 3000 men already serving under Sir J. Norreys, in Brittany. That although the Queen has great cause to forbear, at this time, sending valiant and experimented captains and soldiers out of the realm, yet the King's request has been so importune, and her regard to him is so great, that she has yielded to do so; and sends 4000 footmen under the Earl's guidance, for the space of two months after landing.

He is to desire of the King to be informed on what service he is to be employed, and, on conference with his principal officers, to accept it, or make exceptions to it.

He is charged to have due regard to serve God daily himself, for an example, and to direct all the people under him to do the same, according to the rites of the Church of England.

He is to have regard to his honorable calling, birth, and his estimation with the Queen, that he may return with increased estimation; to take care to order the people well, that they be furnished with victual and lodging, and not put on any desperate enterprise.

The agreement made by the French ambassador to be signed before he marches from Dieppe.

A clause was added to his commission, empowering him to make knights, but it having been found, by former experience, that knighthood had been given by favour rather than desert, and sometimes to persons unable to maintain the honour, and to some not de-

scended in blood of either noble or gentleman, he is desired not to bestow the honour of knighthood, or of arms, on any person of mean birth, or not deserving the same.

When he is absent from the French King, he is to communicate with him through the ambassador resident at the court of France.

Essex had scarcely quitted his royal mistress before he commenced writing to her: when we consider how recently he had spent two hours on his knees in vain endeavours to obtain this command, it is not a little amusing to read his exaggerated complaint of the misery of absence.

No. LV.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady,—I must not let this second day pass without complaining to your Majesty of the misery of absence. I shall think my life very unpleasant till I have rid myself of this French action, that I may once again enjoy the honor, the pleasure, the sweetness which your presence is accompanied with. That business which we would fain have ended, we go about in haste. By those whom I meet upon the way, I hear that our action ripens apace. I hope your Majesty shall presently have great honor by the service of your little troop; and I, as a reward of my service, to be soon at home at your Majesty's feet, whence nothing but death, or your inconstancy, which is not *in rerum naturâ*, can drive me. Never be it heard or seen that your Majesty be less than the greatest, the healthfullest, or the happiest, or other than a most gracious kind lady to your Majesty's humblest, faithfullest, and most affectionate servant,

R. ESSEX.

[1] Hulton MSS.

The two next letters to Lord Burghley give an account of his proceedings, and of his detention at Dover by contrary winds.

No. LVI.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I received by Mr. Darcy your Lordship's two letters, with your cypher, and the copy of the Queen's letter to the French King. Your cypher I will observe, and humbly thank your L. for it; your L. counsel, in giving the Queen thanks for her gracious letter to the King in my behalf, I have followed.

I will send unto Sir Thos. Leighton this day; and, because the wind is contrary, my man shall go along the coast and ship more westward, that he may recover Guernsey. I beseech your L. stay the Queen's purpose in sending any man out of Bedfordshire, for I know I were half revoked if he were but here. Your L. may urge Her Majesty's charge which the other stands upon, and the great discontentment that will be in the army; the most men of quality being drawn into the action by me, would be loth to be left unto another, whom they would never have followed out of England; besides the King shall be greatly unsatisfied when he shall have but a knight to attend him, who cannot keep the English gentlemen from disbanding. This matter toucheth me to the quick, and therefore makes me utter all the little reason I have, though in comparison of what your L. can persuade the Queen with, it be less than nothing. I do resolve to obey Her Majesty's commandment, in not marching with these forces into the country until I do receive that confirmation which is agreed upon between your L. and the ambassador, or else

[1] S. P. O. "France."

be well assured that it is sent away before into England; but I think that will be no stay, for upon Mons. de Reaux, his coming, no doubt but it is done.

The orders which my L. of Leicester made are neither written nor printed among us, but I think we shall call them to mind; and such as shall be thought fit by those whose advice and assistance, by my instructions, I am willed to use, shall be published in writing in every company.

Upon our first arrival at Dieppe, I will send your L. the strength of every company, the name of every captain, the place whence he hath his men, and the order how they are all disgested into regiments; which I cannot do before, because I neither know what men they have brought out of the countries, nor whether Sir Thos. Leighton do desire to have a regiment or not; for if he do, then will we divide the 4000 men into four regiments, else into three. Your L. shall also receive with this list, the names of all the officers of the field.

I beseech your L. hasten the miners. I will return 40 for them, and dispose them as your L. hath directed. I will take Otwell Smithe's account, and send it your L., and also give you continued information how our munition is spent.

I do humbly thank your L. for your wise, favourable, and fatherly instructions, of which your L. letters are very full; I confess myself bound infinitely for them, and I will with all duty and service deserve your L. precious favor.

I received, even now as I was writing, your L. and my L. Admiral's letter, for the excuse of the ships of London; truly my L., till I read your L. letter, I was greatly unsatisfied, the day being passed in which Captain Flick was appointed to be here, and I hearing nothing of him. If your L. can hasten them, that they may find us here, it will much assure the passage of our fleet, and keep us from pestering the Queen's ships, which now we shall do for lack of shipping.

I commend my service humbly to your L., and yourself to God's best protection. Dover, this 28th July, 1591.

Your L. to do you service,

R. ESSEX.

No. LVII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—The wind is so full against us, as I think we shall be driven to stay till the ships of London, which go to my Lord Thomas, come to us; yet do I embark this night, hoping in the night the wind will come up fair. If it do, I hope to be to-morrow at Dieppe; but whether we go or no so soon, it will be necessary for those ships to come hither to waft over the munition, which is not yet arrived; and also to assure the passage over, lest some of our stragglers be caught. I have been fain to take victuals of the Mayor of this town for the ships that came from Hull, which are all here. I have given them a week's victual longer, for their proportion was ended this day. I do commend, &c. Dover, going aboard, this 28th July.

Your L. to do you service,

R. ESSEX.

Next follows a letter to the Queen, loaded with those sweet words of adulation which she so much loved, and which, although he could write them, Essex never was sufficiently a courtier to speak.

No. LVIII.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear and most gracious Sovereign,—We have, since our coming hither, thrice advertized the King of our landing,

[1] S. P. O. "France."

[2] S. P. O.

and desired to have his direction, both for your Majesty's satisfaction for the confirmation, and also how he would have these forces employed. But I do not hear yet that our letters are arrived; the way is dangerous for a single man to pass, and I fear they may be intercepted; but I look every day for answer, and I hope your Majesty shall have present satisfaction. Till I receive the confirmation, or know that it is safely sent unto your Majesty, these troops shall be as wellaccommodated here about as I can get them. Your Majesty's army is, I dare say, for the number, the finest troop in Christendom. I protest unto your Majesty, the French do more admire them than can be believed. I hope your Majesty shall receive honor by them. But if I could be an instrument of the greatest honor to your Majesty, and the greatest good to my country, and yet another in mine absence should rob me of your gracious and dearest favour, I were in his case, *qui mundum lucratus perdidit animam.* I am jealous of all the world, and have cause, since all other men that have either open eyes or sensible hearts are my competitors. I do conjure you, by your own worth, to be constant to him who will, for your Majesty's favour, forsake himself and all the world besides. I wish your Majesty's joys to be as infinite as your worth, and my fortune to be as everlasting as my affection. Arques, this 7th of August.

Your Majesty's servant, whose duty and affection
is greater than any man's, or than all men's,
R. ESSEX.

The French King, who was at this time unable, and perhaps unwilling, to proceed to the siege of Rouen, sent Sir Roger Williams with an invitation to Essex to visit him at Noyon, which he complied with, and was received with "all the contentment that mought be,

"and what honor he could."[1] Although the professed object of this meeting was to arrange the combined plan of operations, the Queen expressed herself greatly displeased at the risk he ran of being cut off by the troops from Rouen. Having quitted the army on the 15th August, Essex did not rejoin it till the 4th September. We shall let Anthony Bagot describe the journey.

No. LIX.[2]

Anthony Bagot to Richard Bagot.

My very good Father,—I write to you of our journey my L. took to see the King, which fell out to be at least a hundred English miles from Deepe; my L. not purposing to tarry out above five days, which caused us to carry nothing with us more than at our backs.

We found the King in camp, at a little village called Atychy, three leagues beyond Compeigne. He used my Lord most kindly, and all of us that followed him; they were together almost two hours; then my Lord went a long league further to his quarter to lodge; but before we were half an English mile, the King, with half a dozen gentlemen, overtook us, and brought my L. to his lodging, and staid with him an hour. Then my L. returned with him, and brought him to his quarter; and the next day dined with the King, which was Sunday, this day fortnight. Then the King went with my L. to Noyon, where they parted; the King gone to meet the Germans, and we returned towards

[1] After having seen Essex, Henry wrote a letter to Elizabeth, thanking her for having sent the Earl to his succour; and saying that, for the support his arrival had given to his affairs, and the gracious expressions of the Queen that he had reported to him, he should look upon the day he first saw the Earl as one of the brightest of his life. (Egerton.)

[2] Blithfield MSS.

Deepe. But Villars, the governor of Rhone (Rouen), was in our way with 1000 horse and 1500 foot, and we but one troop of horse; so that we crossed the river of Signe at a town called Vernon, and so went to Pont Large, where we crossed the river again, and now are met with our footmen; and the Baron Biron[1] is marching with the King, his camp, at whose coming we shall do somewhat. This journey was so hard, that it hath destroyed divers young soldiers; but all that you know are well and in health. Thus till more news, most humbly craving your daily blessing and my good mother's, I must needs end in haste. My sister Broughton hath many thanks for her half crowns. At the running camp at Cailly, betwixt Rhone and Deepe, the 6th September, 1591.

Your humble and dutiful son,

ANTHONY BAGOT.

From Port de l'Arche, while on his return to his own army, Essex wrote an account of the King's reasons for not at once proceeding to the siege of Rouen, which, however, failed to satisfy Elizabeth.

No. LX.[2]

Essex to the Council.

My very good Lords, — Upon my coming to the King, I found him in this estate; his army consisted of some 7000 foot, whereof 3000 were Swisses, the rest French, and 2000 horse, the most French gentlemen, so well mounted and

[1] Armand de Gontault, Baron de Biron, was one of the first of the French nobles who joined Henry IV.; he was called Le Boiteux, from a wound, received 1564; he served at Ivry, 1590; was wounded at Rouen, 1591; and was killed before Epernay, 1592. His son was Charles de Gontault, Duc de Biron, field-marshal and admiral of France, whose turbulence, often pardoned, was at length punished. He was beheaded, 31st July, 1602.

[2] S. P. O. "France."

so well armed, as they are able to beat double their number of any entertained horsemen in Christendom. Before the taking of Noyon, both the horse and foot were in great misery for want of money. The inhabitants of Noyon in the composition agreed to give the King 40,000 crowns, which sum hath satisfied his army for a while; but stayed Mareschal Biron's coming into these parts eight days, because the money was not readily paid. But by this time he is marching this way. The King, as your LL. have heard by Mons. de Reaux, is gone, with 300 gentlemen and as many harquebusiers on horseback, into Champaigny, to join with his Allmayne army; he shall be there strengthened by the Duke of Nevers[1] with 1000 horse and some foot. Perhaps your LL. are unsatisfied that the King, both intending and promising the siege of Rouen, doth bend himself to a contrary course. Surely so was I also much troubled when I first heard of this new resolution; but, upon conference with the King and his Council, I understood the reasons of his journey; which, though I dare neither censure nor allow, yet I assure your LL. I cannot impugn. First, his person being there, he is sure to keep them from mutinies or breaking; which, by so poor a King, and of so mercenary a nation, are things to be feared. Secondly, he will draw them to be divided, whereby he shall leave some in Champaigny to go join with Mareschal d'Aumont, to stay the Pope's succor from coming to the Duke de Mayne[2]; and send others into Britaigny, to strengthen the Prince de Dombes, and yet bring the greatest part with himself. Lastly, he shall make them

[1] Louis de Gonzaga, third son of Frederick, Duke of Mantua, married the heiress of the duchy of Nevers. He was the head of the moderate Roman Catholic party in France, and joined Henry IV. on the plain of Ivry. As a general he was remarkable for his caution and slowness.

[2] Charles de Lorraine, Duc de Mayenne, second son of François, Duc de Guise; was born, 1554; he became the head of the party of the League after his brother's assassination in 1588; and died, 1611.

pass the river of Sceane; and so he hath them engaged to go with him, either to the siege of Rouen, or to fight with the Duke of Parma. And yet, to satisfy Her Maj., and to shew he hath no intent but the siege of Rouen, he sends Mareschal Biron, with all his army he had before Noyon, to join with us, and hath commanded the Duke Montpensier to be there also with the forces of the Normans, which are 1000 horse, and 4 or 5000 foot. Further, he saith by this means he shall more surely effect that which Her Maj. desires; for, drawing his whole force together, he shall be able to fight with the Duke of Parma if he come, and yet keep Rouen besieged. If Mareschal Biron keep his word, we will invest Rouen by the 15th of this month, by our computation; and, by the 25th, the King and his whole forces of Allmaynes and all will be with us. We shall make the approaches and trenches before he come; and, after he comes, I hope we shall be in it within eight days. Upon this action the whole state of France depends; for if Rouen be taken, the King is sure to have all Normandy brought into obedience, there being no town able to hold out two days, but Newhaven (Nieuport), and that, being shut up by land, may be by Her Maj. ships starved in two months. Also the King shall have means in Rouen to make wars of himself, I mean by the ransom of the inhabitants, not by the customs, for they are already assured to Her Maj. for debt. Noyon gave 40,000 crowns ransom, and Rouen is worth forty of Noyon; and ransomed it will be, for a populace that is fearful and distressed will never endure the danger of a sack. But it may be objected that Rouen may be as obstinate as Paris, and that would never hear of any composition. I answer there is great difference between a lingering siege, where there is nothing but famine to constrain the defendants, and a furious battery, the terror whereof is so great, as we see few towns in our days endure an assault, when there is a sufficient breach made, and a royal

army ready to enter; and the defence of Rouen must be as well of the burgesses as of the soldiers, by reason of the greatness of the place, which the soldiers in garrison there cannot man. To be short, if he take it, he possesseth the wealth of France, for all the merchants, since the decay of Paris, are retired thither; he absolutely commands the Sceane, even to Paris, and all places that stand upon it; he besiegeth Newhaven by land, in ruining all the country round about it; and he gets so great reputation to his side, as all between Paris and the sea will in all likelihood revolt to him. Of the other side, if he gets it not, his strength is weakened, his party discouraged, his means clean spent, the enemy coming still stronger upon him, and he every day less able to resist; therefore, *hic labor, hoc opus.* It is miraculous that he hath held out all this while, for I assure your LL. that I find, upon conference with his ministers, that all his certain revenue doth not answer the wages of his garrison soldiers, so as he hath nothing to maintain himself and his army but what he gets with the sword. But God hath raised him with small means to do great things, that all might be ascribed unto Him from whom all victory comes. And next unto God, Her Maj. hath done most for him; for she hath delivered him in his danger, strengthened him in his weakness, and increased him when he grew in strength, that she might be a partner with him in his conquests against the League, and with Nature in making him king of France; for as Nature in his birth gave him a title, so Her Maj. by her succors will help him to a possession.

Your LL. will pardon my rude and disorderly writing, I having but one company of horse for my guard, and an enemy six times my number, that still these four days hath attended on me; I have passed sometimes within caliver shot of his scouts, and see them when we pass through any champain on both sides; but I thank God I have not yet lost so

much as a carriage horse. As soon as I join with our troops, I hope your LL. shall hear we will not be idle. I humbly take my leave, and commend your LL. to God's best protection.

Your LL. humbly at command,

R. ESSEX.

Pont de l'Arche, this 2nd Sept., stilo novo.

No. LXI.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

"Scribere quia nolui, dictare cogor."

My very good Lord,—Being arrived at Rie the 4th of this month, I received your L. five several despatches all at once, the which that night I could do no more than read over: the next morning, being driven for want of necessaries to dislodge from thence, and having victuals and some other carriages to come from Pont de l'Arche, I marched myself with the most of the footmen towards Calye, sending Sir Roger Williams and my brother with all the horse of my army, as well English as French, and the Lord Audley[2] with 700 foot to guard our carriages that came from thence. Villars, assembling all the garrisons of this country, and hearing that our troops were divided, hoped to do some execution on some of our footmen. We had not marched half a league but he gave us an alarm, whereupon making a stand, and putting our whole troops in order, I sent a captain well horsed to discover them; who bringing me word that the enemy was 500 horse and 2000 foot, to keep the enemy from engaging my L. Audley and Sir R. Williams on their return, I turned head against them with all my troops, and then, find-

[1] S. P. O. The letter is written by a secretary, the Latin motto at the head by Essex himself.

[2] George Touchet, eleventh Baron Audley.

ing that the enemy had taken a ground of advantage, besides that he had great odds by reason of his horsemen, I stood in battle within musket shot of him, but would not offer to force him until our horse arrived; so as we stood in battle on both sides four hours, during which space I commanded five or six to change some pistol shot with them, but when any greater numbers of horse came down, I retired them again within our footmen. At length, hearing that Sir Roger Williams with the horsemen were in sight, I drave them from the ground which before they had held, hoping with the loss of some few men to have engaged all their troops to fight; but their scouts having discovered our horsemen, as well as ours, caused them to make their foot retire into Rouen through the woods, and their horse also to make such haste home, that they were almost in Rouen before our companies came up to us. All our forces being thus joined together, we came to Calye, where, being overtaken with a fever, I was brought within twenty-four hours to such a sudden weakness, as that I was fain to be carried between two horses in a litter made of sticks. My weakness as yet continues, so as I could make neither so speedy a despatch, nor so perfect as I would. I have sent over Mr. Darcy, who hath been with me all this journey, and can inform your L. of all things particularly. But two things especially in your L. letters I must needs answer, my not giving of thanks for Her Maj. letter sent by Tolkerne, and my not coming to Portsmouth. For the first, till Smith's coming, I never heard of it; and now, examining the messenger, he confesseth it lost, and whatsoever was in Mr. Stanhope's packet, together with many other things, in coming aboard the same morning that my other two men were drowned. But it is the last fault that ever he shall make me. For the other; first, I never heard out of England since my landing; next, I knew not of Her Maj. remove

from Nonsuch, nor of the time of her coming to Portsmouth; thirdly, all the passages being laid for me, I could neither return to Dieppe, nor hear from thence. But if it please H. M. to have it so, I will confess myself faulty in those things wherein I am only unfortunate. Some matter of secresy I have committed to Mr. Darcy, which he shall report unto your L. I wish your L. all honor and happiness, and so commit you to God's best protection. Pavily, this 7th Sept. 1591.

The next day, Mr. Walter Devereux, having gone with 1200 foot and a detachment of horse to make a demonstration before Rouen, fell into an "ambus-" cade of shot placed behind a hedge, very near the "town, was stricken through the cheek, and so up "into the head, whereof he presently died." Grief for this untoward accident brought on a very severe attack of ague and fever in Essex; and there does not appear to be any letter from him on the subject, except a short note, in which he recommends to Lord Burghley the good service of Mr. John Wotton and Captain Coniers Clifford, in rescuing his brother's body from the enemy. Sir H. Unton[1], however, writes that the Lord General has imparted to him the Queen's displeasure at his journey to the King, and at the manner in which he has employed the troops; that the Earl is the most "perplexed and "afflicted" man he did ever know; and, between the impression of Her Majesty's anger and the loss of his brother, he thinks he will hardly recover it.

[1] The English ambassador to Henry IV. He was son of Edward Unton, of Wadley, Berks, by Anne, eldest daughter of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.

The ambassador desires Burghley will obtain some comfort from her princely hand, because he carries himself with such honour and discretion, and has gained the extraordinary good opinion of the troops.[1]

The next letter to Sir R. Cecyll, with whom he was on friendly terms at this time, and one to the Queen, are answers to all the complaints which had been made against him; which, indeed, appear to have been without reason, and mere ebullitions of fretfulness on the part of Elizabeth. One is not surprised at Essex expressing his "just grief" at being found faulty in all things, because he was "not fortunate to please."

These letters, with others to the Queen and Burghley, bring us to the 24th September, when the latter wrote to the Earl, that the Queen, greatly offended with the French King for having abused her, is determined to revoke him at the expiration of the two months; that though he, Burghley, is satisfied with the reasons Essex gave for his going to Marshal Biron, the Queen "still mislikes thereof." Ships are ordered to Dieppe to bring him and his suite to Rye, where he is to land. If Queen Elizabeth had been a lovesick girl, one might have accounted for her conduct, by supposing that she was impatient again to behold her Essex. A state paper of the same date was issued, headed "A Declaration of the Causes "that move Her Majesty to revoke Her Forces in "Normandy," of which the sum is, that as Henry

[1] Correspondence in S. P. O.

did not proceed to the siege of Rouen immediately the English contingent landed, he had manifestly misused and trifled with her, and had acted, as it were, with a purpose to mock her. Therefore, being unable to remedy what is past, and having performed her promise, she revoked her General, and would, hereafter, be more circumspect in trusting to such kind of promises.

Marshal Biron had, with 12,000 men, commenced his march towards Rouen, when Henry went into Champagne to meet the German auxiliaries; and considering Gournay as a key to Rouen, he sat down before it on his way. Essex, after repeated applications, joined him, and wrote to Burghley on the 27th, that the place had fallen the day before.

No. LXII.[1]

Essex to Sir R. Cecyll.

Sir Robert,—You will bear with me for my short writing the last time. I was punished with a fever, and my heart broken with the Queen's unkindness. Since the writing of my last, I lost my brother in an unfortunate skirmish before Rouen. I call it unfortunate that robbed me of him who was dearer to me than ever I was to myself. We killed divers of them, and lost but two, whereof he was one. When I went I was so weak I was carried in a litter. This cursed mishap took me at great advantage, when I had neither strength of body nor mind to overcome my grief. Upon my return to Arques, with a fit of ague on my back, I

[1] S. P. O. "France."

received the Queen's letter of the 3rd of this month, together with my L. your father's packet. When I read them I thought I should never see end of my affliction. I want words to express my just grief. I was blamed as negligent, undutiful, rash in going, slow in returning, undiscreet in dividing the horse from the foot, faulty in all things, because I was not fortunate to please. Whereas, if I did not send as often as it was possible to have passage; if I did not refuse to march until I knew the ratification was signed (for so I was commanded); if I had not the assent of my L. Ambassador, Mr. Killigrew, and all the chief officers of the army, besides the King's sending with such earnestness, as he said it imported both the states; if I did not return with as much speed as might be, saving that at Gisors I left the ordinary way, because I knew I was laid for by all the forces both at Normandy and Picardy; if I left not the foot in safety where they had no use of horse, have me condemned in all; but if this be all true, as upon my soul it is true, judge uprightly between the Queen and me, whether she be not an unkind lady, and I an unfortunate servant. I wish to be out of my prison, which I account my life; but while I must needs live, I will seek to have my service graciously accepted by Her Majesty, and my poor reputation not overthrown. We are now going to besiege Rouen; Mareschal Biron is come down into these parts, and hath thrice sent to me to join with him, which I tell him I may not do except he go for Rouen; in his last he saith he goes only for Rouen, but will take Gournay in his way, the place being weak, and one of the ports or keys of Rouen. If he come near, my Lord Ambassador and I will go speak with him to hear his reasons, and then I will advertize Her Majesty of our proceedings. In the mean time we will advance our camp somewhat nearer to him, to make our men live better cheap, and to be further from Dieppe, which is infected with the plague. I wish

you all health and happiness, and rest your most assured true friend,

R. ESSEX.

I have written to Jo. Stanhope more shortly, therefore I pray you acquaint him with this letter.

No. LXIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady, whom I love and trust more than I do all the world, though your Majesty unjustly rob me of those titles which you afford to the meanest that is. I received your Majesty's letter of the 3rd Sept. the 16th of this same month, at Arques, whither Sir Thos. Leighton and Mr. Killigrew, whom I entreated in the time of my sickness to confer with the governor of Dieppe, resolved we should go to refresh the soldiers a day or two till the Mareschal Biron were nearer Rouen. For answer to your Majesty's unkind letter, I must conjure your Majesty, by the justice of a Prince, not to impute to me another man's fault, who, next to your Majesty, am most wronged in spending mine own money and my friends' before there be use of our service. As for your Majesty's answer to De Reaux, I can say no more, but when your Majesty hath granted or denied what you please, I must do that which you command. Your Majesty's first charge to myself is, that I should incline ear to the King's persuasion, and not obey your Majesty's commandment; wherein I am much grieved your Majesty thinks my duty, my faith, and my humble affection so small, as I should compare you with a stranger, to whom, if I should do any good office, it must be for commiseration, and neither for love nor for hire, for what hath he deserved of me, or what can he do for me. If your Majesty ground this hard conceit

[1] Hulton MSS.

only upon my journey, I beseech your Majesty think how I should have refused to have gone, the King sending me word that it was necessary for the service of both your Majesties I should come unto him. I left the army in safety, I could have done nothing during this time had I stayed here, and I did hasten the coming of his army down this way by my journey; for by importuning I made him promise to leave the siege of Pierfount, which now he hath performed, though not so soon as he promised. If the long time of my absence did offend your Majesty, I must crave the testimony of all your servants that were with me, whether I hasted not more than some of them would have had me, and yet brought all my company safe to join with the footmen. I did send, I confess, for the footmen to meet me upon the way, which I had not done but that Mons. Roulett, governor of Louviers and Pont de l'Arche, told me without our footmen we could not pass: to which opinion all my whole company assented before I would either stay my journey, or send for the footmen. As for dividing your Majesty's horsemen and footmen, which your Majesty seems to mislike, those that know this place, where I kept the footmen, can assure your Majesty they had no need of horse, because they send not abroad, bearing all their victual from Dieppe, and also lie so strong that the Duke de Mayne's army could not hurt them in this place. For my not writing oftener to your Majesty, I answer, before my going to the King I wrote four times in fourteen days, and had written fourteen times if I could have procured as many passages. After my going till I came to Pont de l'Arche, I could never send except I had had an army to convoy every messenger. As soon as I came to Pont de l'Arche I did despatch a French courier, because no Englishman could have passed, not knowing the country, and no passage safe but by night: and, being joined with the footmen, I was one day not like to live, and yet the next I despatched

away Mr. Darcy, though he stayed a day after, and saw the spectacle of my misery; where, if it had pleased God, I would I had changed turns, for mine is as certain, and I assure myself not much slower, and yet not so seasonable, because I live still to curse my birthday and to long for my grave. I have been sick all day, and yet write at night till my dim eyes and weak hand do fail me. I wish your Majesty's honor, health, and contentment to be infinite, and that you may encourage all those who serve you for hope: as for me, I will not be weary till my last hour, what wrong soever you do me. Your Majesty's servant, miserable by his loss, and afflicted with your unkindness,

Arques, this 12th Sept. R. ESSEX.

Since the writing of this letter I have heard from Mareschal Biron, whereof I thought good to advertize your Majesty, he is come to Guillefontaine, nine leagues hence. He would fain take Gournay, and sends to me to that end, because it is weak, and yet it stands well to victual us, and cut off all succours from Rouen. I have refused to go meet him, fearing to offend your Majesty.

No. LXIV.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I am unhappy to have all my actions construed to the worst part. I hope when I shall be heard, Her Maj. shall think she hath done me some wrong, to repay me with unkindness and disgrace for my dangerous, troublesome, and chargeable service. Her Majesty is angry I did not write often unto her. I answer that, before my going to the King, I wrote from Dieppe and from Arques four times in fourteen days. After I had taken my journey

[1] S. P. O. "France."

I could never send to Dieppe without convoy of 100 horse, which was all the troop I carried with me to the King: on my return I must have had a little army to have guarded every messenger; for the enemy had 1000 horse and 2000 foot in the way to intercept them. As soon as I came to Pont de l'Arche, I made a despatch for England, wherein I have made account unto your L. and the rest of my LL., of those observations I had made by my journey. After I was joined with the footmen, I did despatch away Mr. Darcy, and oftener than this I could not have sent for my life. But the Queen is angry that I did go to the King. What should I have done? If I had stayed here I had been unprofitable; in going, I hastened Mareschal Biron this way. I solicited of the King to send off his Allmains into Britaigny. I left the footmen in safety, and brought home all my horsemen with me without loss of a man. The King sent for me with this earnestness as he told me it was necessary for the service of both their Majesties I should speak with him. But I staid too long. Surely we marched still as fast as our horses could well tread, and forbore not to pass when we knew the enemy was in the way, except we were assured that all their forces were together. Now Mareschal Biron is come into these quarters with all the King's army; all his preparations are almost ready, he will be ready to besiege Rouen within ten days, but he is loth to leave Gournay on his back. The reasons are, first, because if the enemy hold Gournay on the one side, and Caudebec on the other, we shall be in greater necessity than they that are besieged; for if the enemy put 4 or 500 horse into either of these two garrisons, there shall not a tittle of bread come to our army without a wonderful great convoy: of the other side, if Gournay were taken, there is no enemy that can hurt us during the siege, for between Dieppe and Gisors all the country would be the King's. Also, if we take that town, we do put off all

succours from Rouen; for, if the Duke of Parma come, his army must be victualled from Abbeville and Amiens, or from Beauvais, which, Gournay being won, are both unprofitable to him, for Gournay and Gisors do cover Rouen towards Picardy. But your L. may think that this protracts time; surely I think not, for I think that since the place is weak, and yet of such use for the siege of Rouen, it is a readier way to take Rouen than if we went straight thither. I do not think Gournay can hold out six days. If I durst have gone with our English to have joined with the Mareschal when he first wrote for me, I think we should have been almost in it ere this. He hath written to me again to come nearer to him, which my L. Ambassador and Sir Thomas Leighton think necessary; Mr. Killigrew is not well, but I will go to him anon to know his opinion. I do nothing without a general assent, and yet all the fault is laid upon me. We shall do well to draw our men nearer to him, because we are nearer Rouen by much, and we shall have them live upon the country, and so, perhaps, save a week of their sendings: if he be importunate on us to draw our men before the town, I will tell him I have my hands bound. I would be glad to be directed by your L. what we should do, for surely this restraint to do nothing but besiege Rouen may hinder the siege of Rouen very much; for a man must first take the porte, that will lodge in the market place. Your L. may be now assured that Rouen is besieged, for Gournay would never be attempted for itself, since it is of no importance but for the siege of Rouen; and in all reason Rouen is sure to be taken, for I assure your L. the place is not strong, and the new works are so imperfect as they will disadvantage themselves. I do not think it will hold out a month; I hope not twenty days. Her Majesty writes unto me that I shall not make account to stay longer than the 3rd Oct. I beseech your L. put Her Maj. in mind how I

serve her; good cheap for her, and my preparations were chargeable to myself; also I have lost in this action him, who, next herself, was dearest to me of all the world. If Her Majesty would now revoke me with disgrace, when Rouen were to be won, I would humbly beseech her that she would take from me my life, and not my poor reputation, which I cannot lose; the place I hold considered, without some dishonour to Her Majesty. I do conjure your L., by that true honour which I assure myself to be in you, that you defend your poor absent friend, who, with his tongue and his sword, will do you all right, and be most ready to do you service.

Arques, this 13th of Sept. 1591. R. ESSEX.

No. LXV.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady,—Since I cannot despatch away this bearer to the sea so soon as I would for want of passage, I beseech your Majesty give me leave once again by him to tell your Majesty that no unkindness from you, though it break my heart, can diminish my affection; but I will end my life complaining of your injustice, and approving mine own constancy.

Upon a conference had yesterday at Dieppe with my L. Ambassador, Sir Thos. Leighton, and Mr. Killigrew, it was thought necessary before we did join with Mareschal Biron all your Majesty's forces, that my L. Ambassador and I should go speak with him, which we will do this afternoon, and presently after I will advertize your Majesty of our proceedings. I beseech your Majesty pardon my confused, rude writing, for I protest unto your Majesty that unkindness and sorrow have broken both my heart and my wits. I

[1] Hulton MSS.

wish your Majesty all the happy joys that ever were known or thought of by any, and rest your Majesty's humble, faithful, and most unhappy servant,

Arques, this 14th Sept. R. ESSEX.

No. LXVI.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Your Majesty's unkindness accompanied the loss of my brother, and your heavy indignation I see follows your unkindness; and now I find that your Majesty's indignation threatens the ruin and disgrace of him that hath lost his dearest and only brother, spent a great part of his substance, ventured his own life and many of his friends, in seeking to do your Majesty service. But I have offended and must suffer. I confess I did ill in going to the King; not but that it was necessary for your Majesty's service, but because by that means I could not know of your Majesty coming to Portsmouth. But for the other imputations which my LL. in their letter do object to me, if I do not satisfy your Majesty whensoever I shall be heard, *fiat justitia, pereat mundus.* Of matter of state I will write nothing, my words and actions being all condemned; but this every man that is here doth see, that when your Majesty withdraweth your succor and countenance, this King loseth his hope and his state. For myself, I humbly crave this grace as the last which I shall live to enjoy; that if your Majesty revoke your army, I may have your Majesty's leave to stay here a month or six weeks with some of mine own horses; for to come home without doing anything would utterly overthrow my poor reputation, and make me — before God I speak it — like never to see your Majesty's face again. This place, while

[1] Hulton MSS.

these great armies are unbroken, will be the only school of our age; and to go out of action when all other men come into action, were to wear a note of perpetual infamy. I am left alone of my poor house, to maintain the poor reputation that it hath hitherto lived in; your Majesty in honour and justice will not force me to be the first that shall imbase it. Grief and unkindness confound my wits, so as I must break off. I wish your Majesty the height of all honor, the fulness of all joy, and the perfection of all contentment. Your Majesty's servant, that holds you dearer than his life, though you seek by all means to shorten his life,

R. ESSEX.

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX—*continued.*

RETURN OF ESSEX.—HIS RECEPTION BY THE QUEEN.—HE RETURNS TO NORMANDY.—POVERTY OF HENRY IV.—ROUEN INVESTED BY BIRON AND ESSEX.—DISPUTES AS TO WHERE THE ATTACK SHOULD COMMENCE.—LETTERS OF ESSEX DETAILING THE PROCEEDINGS BEFORE ROUEN.—ELIZABETH RECALS ESSEX.—ADVANCE OF THE PRINCE OF PARMA.—ESSEX CHALLENGES VILLARS TO SINGLE COMBAT.—REPRIMAND FROM THE QUEEN.—HE IS ORDERED HOME.—HIS FINAL DEPARTURE.

AFTER Gournay was taken, Essex had sent Sir Robert Cary to England with the news, who states in his Memoirs that he arrived in four days. Before his arrival at Oatlands, Sir Francis Darcy had been sent over to Essex with peremptory orders for his immediate return. On Cary's being admitted to the presence, the Queen flew into a great passion against the Earl, vowing that she would make him an example if he did not come home forthwith. Cary states that he found means to pacify her, and persuading her that Essex could not without dishonour have come away before, got a comfortable message for him, and set off again, but passed Essex in the channel between Dover and Dieppe.[1]

The Earl had, in obedience to the last order, set out

[1] Memoirs of Sir Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth; published, 1759, by J., Earl of Cork and Orrery, from MSS. in his possession, p. 73.

immediately for England; but the jealous impatience of Elizabeth, which had been momentarily appeased by Cary, was again awakened, and, if we may judge by the tone of the following letters from Essex to Her Majesty, his reception was by no means of that gracious nature which Sir Robert had been led to anticipate for him.

No. LXVII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

To obey your Majesty's commandment I am come hither, and had been the first messenger myself, if I had been fit for a great journey; but my indisposition before my embarking, my ill passage and faintness since my coming on shore, doth make me crave your Majesty's leave to make two days journey to the Court. I do send Sir John Wingfield to bring me the desired news of your Majesty's welfare, and to present my humble duty. I beseech your Majesty let him return with speed to your Majesty's humble, most affectionate, but unfortunate servant,

Rye, this Thursday night. R. ESSEX.

The next complains of his bad reception by the Queen.

No. LXVIII.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

I see your Majesty is constant to ruin me; I do humbly and patiently yield to your Majesty's will. I appeal to all men that saw my parting from France, or the manner of my coming hither, whether I deserved such a welcome or not.

[1] Hulton MSS. [2] Ibid.

To be full of words when a man is full of affliction, is for him that is not resolved what to do with himself.

Your Majesty's humble servant,

R. ESSEX.

Essex soon overcame the displeasure of Elizabeth, if indeed she had really entertained any but what arose from his prolonged absence, and the fear that he might receive some hurt. On the 3rd October the Council informed him that Her Majesty, considering all the circumstances, and that the French King's approach seemed near, had determined to keep him and the force there till the end of the month. They proceed, "and we are commanded to charge "you, as you regard her princely favor, and would "avoid her indignation, that you do not attempt "by no persuasions, nor for respect of any vain "glory, to put in danger *your own person* at this "siege of Rouen, nor by any other exploit there, but "that you behave yourself in an honorable and "comely sort, as Her Majesty's Lieutenant and General "of her forces, to whom properly it doth not belong "to express the actions of a soldier or executioner "otherwise than by good advice and counsel. And "because you may perceive what moveth Her Ma-"jesty to give this charge unto you for your own "person, she affirmeth that, by report made unto her, "you did hazard yourself at Gournay by trailing of a "pike, to approach the place like a common soldier, "a thing not indeed commendable in you, although "it was reported by such as pretended to give you "great glory for the same. You did also at another

"time adventure to go a hawking, being forced to "come away from the field by pursuit of some "number bigger than yourself, who proved in the "end to be of the King's party, or otherwise in their "pursuit you had been taken or worse used."[1]

The most honourable Privy Council employed to write orders to a General to *keep out of harm's way!*

On the 16th Essex wrote to the Queen from Dover; and on the 18th to Burghley from Dieppe, giving an account of the disorders in his little and now greatly wasted army; also to the Queen, entreating that their future correspondence may be of affection only, leaving all matters of business to be transacted through the Council. On the 23rd, he wrote again to Burghley, informing him of the approach of the King to Rouen.

No. LXIX.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady,—My absence would be too unpleasant if I did not entertain myself with thinking of all those perfections which mine eyes enjoyed so lately to behold; and to make me meditate with more comfort, I will never cease to importune your Majesty, that I may, by some handwriting from your sacred self, be assured that I do not decrease in your Majesty's favour. I care for no cross of fortune, so long as I find your Majesty careth for me; neither can anything make me happy when I do not hold a first place in your favour. If any man will venture his life to persuade your Majesty of his faith, I will lose mine to prove my constancy. I wish your Majesty to be the greatest and happiest Prince,

[1] S. P. O. "France."

[2] Hulton MSS.

the kindest and constantest Mistress that ever was; and I will be ever your Majesty's most humble, affectionate, and devoted servant,

Dover, 16th Oct. R. ESSEX.

No. LXX.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I landed here yesterday, being the 17th of this month. I found the army in great disorder; the soldiers commit outrages upon the country, saying they lack pay; the King's ministers do not give them that which they promised me, because they say our men spoil the King's subjects, and live well upon the country. Yet I thank God the troops have not wanted meat. The state of the army I find is this: since the last muster which was sent to your L. by the Muster Master, there are divers of our soldiers run away; and many of our gentlemen, which were voluntaries, have had passport to go for England. The gentlemen will either all, or the best men of them, return; the soldiers are of the basest sort, and cannot be called back, for they disperse themselves every where upon all highways; and if they return, they will do us more harm than good. We are yet 2000 men at Arques, and I have in this town 80 horses of mine own, and as many of the gentlemen's that are voluntaries; so as I hope to keep the troops from further breaking. Mons. Doe hath been coming from Caen these eight days, and hath sent hither for ships: the ships are with him, but the wind continueth still against him: this night or to-morrow, now the weather is fair, we look for him: upon his coming, we shall know what to trust unto. I think he will keep his word. I will advertize your L. presently, whether he doth or not; in the meantime I will undertake the troops

[1] S. P. O. "France."

shall want nothing, for I will take those necessaries which they will not give me, and yet in this town I know I shall not be refused anything I ask for their sustenance. The Mareschal Biron hath sent us word that the King marcheth with diligence, and he sends for the artillery and munitions, and hastes his preparations for the siege of Rouen. He writes that the King will be before Rouen the last of this month, *stilo novo*, which is within three or four days. I have sent Sir Roger Williams to him to know his news and his resolution, commanding Sir Roger to advertize me; and from the Mareschal to go to the King, to let me know the true state of the King's army — where it is, and what is intended; for in this town we know no certainty, the messengers are so often intercepted, as no man dare pass. In sending Sir Roger, I had this purpose, that within six days I would know what the King will do, so as Her Maj., being acquainted therewith, may build upon assurance, and not continue her forces upon uncertainty. I have refused to go or send any men to Caudebec, where, upon our retreat, the enemy took such heart, as he keeps that town against the Mareschal, which, with 1000 men and 4 cannons, I would take in two days. I will not go thither without Her Maj. commandment or permission; and yet I think, upon the very sight of our arrival, the town would render. I beseech your L. let me know Her Maj. pleasure herein; for, if this town were taken, we should be the next day before Rouen. I found one week's lending spent of the fourteen days which was sent over; the other I will stay till I know your L. pleasure, for I can live hard by here with Her Maj. forces, and want nothing, nor pay nothing. I will not desire your L. to move the Queen to reinforce our companies till we be set down before Rouen; then a little supply of men would give a great reputation to the cause. I am certainly advertized that the garrison of Rouen is not half so strong as we thought

it. There is some news now come, that Caudebec should have compounded; but to-morrow I shall know the truth, and shall advertize your L. forthwith. I have sent your L's. letters to my L. Ambassador, which I know will be with him in two or three days. I chid the Muster Master for not sending your L. his rolls, but I find he hath done it; howsoever it is miscarried, I have made him send your L. a copy of them by this despatch. I commend your L. to God's best protection, and rest, &c.

Dieppe, this 18th of Oct. 1591. R. ESSEX.

No. LXXI.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most fair, most dear, and most excellent Sovereign, — The first suit I make unto your Majesty on my arrival is, that your Majesty will free me from writing to you of any matter of business; my duty shall be otherwise performed by advertizing my LL. of your Maj. Council of all things here, and yet my affection not wronged, which tells me, that zealous faith and humble kindness are argument enough for a letter.

At my departure I had a restless desire honestly to disengage myself from this French action: in my absence I conceive an assured hope to do something which shall make me worthy of the name of your servant: at my return I will humbly beseech your Maj. that no cause but a great action of your own may draw me out of your sight, for the two windows of your privy chamber shall be the poles of my sphere, where, as long as your Maj. will please to have me, I am fixed and unmoveable. When your Maj. thinks that heaven too good for me, I will not fall like a star, but be consumed like a vapor by the same sun that drew me up to such a height. While your Maj. gives me leave to say I love

[1] Hulton MSS.

you, my fortune is as my affection, unmatchable. If ever you deny me that liberty, you may end my life, but never shake my constancy, for were the sweetness of your nature turned into the greatest bitterness that could be, it is not in your power, as great a Queen as you are, to make me love you less. Therefore, for the honor of your sex, shew yourself constant in kindness, for all your other virtues are confessed to be perfect; and so I beseech your Maj. receive all wishes of perfect happiness, from your Maj. most humble, faithful, and affectionate servant,

Dieppe, 18th Oct. R. ESSEX.

No. LXXII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord, — I send your L. a letter from Grimston, wherein your L. shall see what day the King parted from Sedan to march towards Rouen. It was the 10th of this month, *stilo veteri;* and he writes he will be with us within fourteen days: it is now the 23rd, so as within a day the time is expired. The French gentleman that brought the letters tarried till the 11th with the army, and saith that he marched with the King that day nine leagues. He saith the King hath been these five or six days at Compeigne and Noyon to give order; that the Lanzknechts and Reiters are by Gisors: he returns to morrow to meet the army about Gournay, where he saith the King will be within two days. The King passeth by Neufchâtel, and so goeth straight to Rouen. The Mareschal Biron hath taken Caudebec by composition, is now before Harfleur, and hath an enterprize upon another place of more importance, whereof I spake somewhat to your L. at my last being in England. He writes to me that he hath sent to discover it; that he will hazard nothing: but he

[1] S. P. O. "France."

wisheth I were joined with him for two causes; the one because he doubteth he shall not so surely achieve his enterprize without us; the other, because he thinks upon the sight of our troops both Harfleur and Tankerville would bring him the keys of their towns. But as yet I have made him no answer, because Mons. Doe, being come from Caen, tells me that, upon a view taken of our men, he will imprest unto us fifteen days pay, which he will pay in ready money. Upon the King's coming he doth assure us we shall have further order, for those which are fled out of Rouen and those neighbour towns which are interested in the action of Rouen, will not disburse the money before they see the King's army and his person before Rouen, which I doubt not will be by the end of the next week, so as before half this money be spent, we shall know what to trust unto. Of the taking of Rouen there is every day more to be conceived, for the garrison is much weaker than we thought it. Villars hath not at this day 1000 soldiers in the town, nor 2000 in all his garrisons, whereof in no proportion Rouen can have the half: besides, it is not credible how easily the French suffer their towns to be taken, especially they of the League. I do assure your L. I think you shall hear that this town will never endure any fury, but compound betimes: the burgesses do vow and protest it already. I beseech your L. consider of the weakness of our troops. I think we have left but 1500 able men, the rest so sick and weak as we must send them into the Paulett off Dieppe. If it will please Her Maj. to send over 1000 fresh men to reinforce our companies, it will give such a reputation to the cause, as the enemy will believe that Her Maj. sends another army. We have arms, as I think, enough for them, and we will upon their landing take them into our companies, so as Her Maj. shall be only at the charge of transportation, which, the greatness of the good that shall come by it considered, will be in my poor opinion well

bestowed. Upon the King's arrival I will advertize Her Maj. and your L., and then if it please Her Maj. to send us this supply of men, it will be time they should be ready to be embarked; for, upon our first coming to Rouen, we shall try what our success will be: therefore I thought good to advertize your L. hereof betimes, that if it please Her Maj. to send them they might come opportune. The Mareschal had not gone to Harfleur but for his other enterprize, the place being two or three leagues, and yet he shall very much clear the river by taking of it. The news of the overthrow of Mons. de Deguyens by the Duke of Savoy his army is true, and he is purposed to follow his victory in besieging Chambery. The Viscount Turenne, by his late match[1], is grown very great. If Her Maj. will use him as she may, she may reap great service by him, for assuredly he will sway this state more than any subject whatsoever in possessions, alliances, credit with all the men of war, and especially with them of the religion considered. He will be glad to have some dependence of Her Maj., and to be assured of her favor what times soever do come: he is worth the embracing, for if the King should die to-morrow, he is likeliest man to be chosen to defend the young Prince, whose faction is greatest in my poor opinion, for all the Protestants and house of Montmorency will run wholly that way, besides many that will be brought in by alliances; and the popish faction, through the ambition of the competitors, will have many heads, and therefore weak. If it be objected that the Spanish faction will set up some one, it may be answered, that it will be so odious to all the rest, and to the nation, that a foreign nation shall impose a King upon them, as it will unite all the rest against him; for of that little moral philosophy which I have learned in France, I gather that the zeal of the most of them is not so great as their ambition, and therefore the cause of

[1] With the heiress of Bouillon and the principality of Sedan.

religion will not make them yield to a Spanish authority. Your L. will pardon my bold rude writing, wherein as long as I presume your L. gives me leave to write freely to you of all my collections here, I will continue, or reform my error on being told of my fault. I commend your L. to God's best protection, and rest, &c.

Dieppe, this 23rd October. R. ESSEX.

On the 22nd October, Sir H. Unton had an audience of the King, to remonstrate, on the part of Elizabeth, against his neglect of the terms of the convention. To which the King replied, that he could not absolutely command his nobility; that they served without pay, and would return home when they liked. With regard to the siege of Rouen, he promised to undertake it immediately: the delays had been caused by the tardiness of the Reiters, who would march three days, and then rest two. With respect to the pay of the English troops, he would use his best endeavours; and, on being pressed on this point, he said he was very sorry to discover his poor estate, but he must needs confess himself unable to pay them; he had not 500 crowns in his purse, nor means of paying his army, but with the money to be raised by the capture of Rouen.

Essex sent over Sir Roger Williams to solicit a supply of soldiers. When he opened this matter to the Council, they desired him to mention it to the Queen, and they would support him; but none of them was "willing to move Her Majesty to choler;" and it was thought, if the Queen heard what was the object of his coming, she would refuse to see him. It will be

seen, however, by her letter, that she consented to reinforce her army there.

Towards the end of October, Rouen was invested by the army, under Biron and Essex.

The town of Rouen was covered, on the south, by the river Seine, a stone bridge over that river connecting with it the Fauxbourg S. Sevère; a chain of hills extended to the northward, with the small river, d'Aubette, flowing from Dernetal, a village distant about a league from Rouen, between these hills and the town. To the east, on a hill higher than the rest of the chain, stood the fort St. Catherine, a convent, which had been fortified about thirty years previously. Another small stream, running on this side, entered the town by the gate St. Hilaire; and, after turning eleven mills, found its way into the Seine. The old palace, a square fort, stood on the banks of the river on this side. The citadel was situated to the west.

Great difference of opinion existed as to where the attack should be made; Biron insisting on opening trenches before Fort St. Catherine; Sully, on attacking the town first, summing up his reasons with the expression, "ville prise, château rendu." Essex, who agreed with the latter, desired to be allowed, with his forces, to open the trenches between St. Catherine's and the town. This was refused. The evils attending the mode of attack which was ultimately adopted, and which by many persons was ascribed to treachery on the part of Biron, was shown in the result: so much time was lost, that the Prince of Parma was enabled to advance from the Low Countries, and

force Henry to raise the siege. Long before this occurred, however, Essex had quitted the army, and returned to England.

It will be seen, by the Queen's letter to Essex, that she considered it a "dishonour" for him to remain with so reduced a force under his command; and as his conduct before Rouen had made a worthy termination to his service, desires him to return home.

No. LXXIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most fair, most dear, and most excellent sovereign,—I do send this bearer unto your Maj. to let your Maj. know that Rouen is besieged, and that Rouen is easy to be taken if it please your Maj. to supply us with men and some little money. For those men we have, they are very good; but I do assure your Maj. we are not 1000, yet we bear the name of 4000. Yesterday your Maj. little troop got a great deal of honor, for all the gentlemen of quality, except myself, came divers times to fight. Of whom I have but few hurt, and they none of them in danger. If I should tell your Maj. who did shew great valor, and what things of note every man did, I should write more than your Maj. would have leisure to read. I protest before God that I think in no one place in Christendom there can be chosen a company of more resolute, valiant gentlemen, for the number, than are here. I have sent some particulars of our service to my L. Chamberlain, wherewith your Maj. may be acquainted as far as you please. I dare ask no more than I shall first know that your Maj. will be willing to grant, but I commend the cause which is great to be measured by the

[1] Hulton MSS.

greatest judgment of the world; your people, which are zealously dutiful, to be relieved by the most gracious Prince; and myself, that will ever exceed all men in duty and affection, to your most dear favor, which shall be ever my *summum bonum.* I wish your Maj. what you desire, what you want, or what any can enjoy, or more if more may be; and desire, nay claim as my right, to be esteemed your humblest, faithfullest, and most affectionate servant,

R. ESSEX.

From the camp before Rouen, this 2nd Nov.

No. LXXIV.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—Upon Saturday morning I did despatch away Sir Roger Williams, by whom I did write unto your L. that we meant to invest Rouen that night, which we had done if they had all kept appointment, for I was at the rendezvous, a league from Rouen, at 2 o'clock in the morning, and the army did not come altogether till 6 o'clock, so as it was three hours of day before we came to Rouen. Our order was this: the Mareschal divided his whole army into two parts, with one of them he went himself, and sent me with the other; we came both in sight of the town at one instant; but because my troop was the vauntgard of his army, he staid in battle till I was lodged. Because my lodging was so near the town as I feared it would be burnt if I did not possess it, I desired Mons. Hallot de Montmorency, who was in the vauntgard with me, to stay in battle at our back till I had gotten my quarter; that being done, he was lodged, with some 300 horse and 2000 foot, in a valley on my right hand, and the Governor of Dieppe, with three regiments of French and one of

[1] S. P. O. "France."

Swissers, on the left. The Mareschal lodged with all the rest of the army at Dernetal, saving one regiment of Swissers and three of French, which Mons. d'Erecourt had to lodge in the village, which is on the top of the hill by St. Katerine's. In the beginning, all the sallies were made towards a hill where the Mareschal stood in battle with half the army; where the enemy kept a little broken stone house, which the Mareschal's men in eight hours could not win of him, for the skirmish was maintained with loose shot, and coldly on both sides. About 10 o'clock they made a little bravado upon me, but being repulsed, they bent their whole forces, saving those which entertained the Mareschal Biron's men in skirmish, upon Mons. de Hallot, which his men for two hours maintained well, but afterwards for want of powder, and through the baseness of his footmen, the enemy beat him out of his quarter, till Captain Edw. York, with my company of horse, charged, and won him his quarter again. But the enemy, sending supplies out of the town when my horse were come home, beat away Mons. Hallot's men from their guard, and burnt part of his quarter: whereupon he sent a gentleman to me for help, which he had, for with 20 muskets and 6 horse our men won him twenty score of ground which he had lost. Upon these two disgraces which the enemy received at our hands, they bent their whole force upon us, and came with great resolution to charge our quarter, drawing their best men from all other sides of the town upon us: their shot came first up the hill to us, which we answered by shot, and awhile kept them play at an equal hand; but in the end, when our old and chosen shot were weary, and I was fain to send others in their place, they beat in our shot, so as our pikes were fain to charge three or four times to make good the ground; in one of which charges Capt. N. Clifford charged them down to the barrier, so as the captain which led the enemy was slain, and his

body brought into our quarter. But they never rested half an hour, but gave a fresh charge upon our men, finding their shot much better than ours. So, as seeing them come up in two great troops, I left my cousin Cary with Mr. Gerrard and two or three old captains to keep the lane before our lodging with the pikes, and stood myself on the right hand of them in a field, where I had another troop of pikes before me, and my company of horse behind all, lest they should make too fair a mark for the cannon of the town. The enemy came up the hill with great bravery, first offering a skirmish to my cousin Cary and Mr. Gerrard; but they charged themselves with so great resolution, as the enemy had no desire to go on. From thence they came up with some of their bravest horse, with shot and some few pikes, to charge the squadron of pikes which I had set on the top of the hill; but seeing Sir John Wingfield come towards them, they made a stand with the horse, and their loose shot galled many of our men, Sir John himself being shot through his clothes, but not hurt; whereupon, seeing our pikes distressed by those loose shot whom they could not charge by reason they were scattered, a dozen of the principal gentlemen which were a horseback charged their shot into their great troop, and their great troop coming up to succour them, charged them with such fury as they quitted the ground. This charge was such an encouragement to our foot, as they made the place good ever after without the help of our horse. This honor Her Maj. hath, that her little broken troop made good the ground they first took and got of the enemy, when none else got, and all that were charged lost some at one time or other. Further, Mons. de Hallot did tell the Mareschal that he held his quarter of the English, for they gave it him when he had lost it. The skirmish between us and the town lasted from noon till sunset; so as there were more men killed and hurt on both sides than in all the army besides,

for it was without intermission, and many times our soldiers came to the sword. We have 6 soldiers slain, and 24 or 25 hurt; divers officers of companies hurt, whereof one, who was Captain Barton's lieutenant, is like to die: he killed a commander of the enemy with his pike before he was shot himself. Capt. Grimston is lightly hurt. Of the gentlemen which charged on horseback, only two; both of them are well known to your L.; Capt. Allen through the thigh, and Capt. Matthew Morgan in the belly; but they are both out of danger, and will be well within ten days. My Lord Audley served very valiantly, and had his horse killed under him. I had of mine own horses, but under other men, eight shot. The enemy lost three commanders, many both horsemen and footmen were slain upon the place, and divers horses shot. They like the sport so ill, that they have not stirred all this last night, nor all this day; and now I have made all my quarter so strong, as if they come to attempt it, my men shall stand covered with trenches, and make them drop down. On Friday or Saturday we look for the King: he shall find we have done him a good service to get him all these lodgings, for if the enemy had burnt them, the town could not have been besieged in winter. I am of the same mind I was ever, that this town will be taken; but I beseech your L., for the good of all Christendom, and to save the honor of our nation, procure us some supply of men and money, for without it we can do little good, and without us this town will not be besieged. We are, I assure your L. on my credit, under 1000 men, and though to fight we are enough against the garrison of Rouen, yet, when we must make approaches to the town, we shall not be able to keep our guards, for half those we have are not enough to stand in guard at once. Arms I will not desire, but only some few pikes in store, because we may break many. We are now engaged to carry this town, seeing that the good of France depends

on it, and Her Maj., the Princes of Germany, and the States of the Low Countries have been fain to enter into this action. It is too great an honor for a proud, vain Leaguer to be able to resist so great Powers. I assure your L., on the faith of an honest man, besides our own credits that are here, I am infinitely enflamed with the desire of the common good, which I know will follow the taking of this town. But I have been too tedious; I beseech your L. pardon my indiscreet boldness. I commend your L. to God's best protection, and rest, &c.

R. ESSEX.

I think the King's only want in his battery will be powder, for he hath artillery and bullets enough. I beseech your L. remember that the proportion for Her Majesty's seven pieces is very small.

From the camp before Rouen, 3rd of November, 1591.

No. LXXV.[1]

The Queen to Essex.

We have received letters from the French King, dated at Noyon, by Roger Williams, whom you sent to him. It hath been an usual place for the date of most of these which we have seen, since our forces arrived there under your charge, saving some from Sedan, in the remotest part of his country, when you know we had good cause to expect him to have been elsewhere.

The substance of his message, wherein we were required to believe him, being our servant and subject, contented to promise to repair unto us with any such unreasonable demands; but therein hath he cleared himself, by assuring us that he did utterly refuse to come about any such occasion,

[1] S. P. O. "France, 9th November."

further than to you his General, whom he was commanded to obey. By this we find him in this matter better cleared than we looked for; and, therefore, the matter being referred to yourself, it could not but seem strange that you would either give shew to the King that you did like of his demands by sending him to us, or could yourself recommend any such unreasonable requests, considering how great wrongs hath been in all this time offered to us by the King, both to our dishonor, loss of our people, and daily expense of the sums of our treasure to no good end or purpose, but rather to the whole overthrow of the action by so long protraction; we have thought good also to remember you, how much you have forgotten yourself of that which you were by us directly prohibited, which was, that in no case you should either march forward with our people, or expose yourself or them to any service, but upon good assurance of pay, and of the King's coming down in person. How contrary to this you have done, yourself best knoweth; and we are sorry to think that the world may judge you less careful than you ought to be of our directions, who in this service, wherein we have employed you, have had many causes to find fault with you, which now we are not disposed to rehearse or further to remember.

Nevertheless, having considered deeply of this matter, and finding how little care or good provision the French King hath made in this action of such importance to him, and having understood by this bearer how desperate his estate is grown to be, even by his own error in so long protraction of the siege, which mought have been by this time throughly ended, and not in the growing of the winter now to begin, rather than this matter of such importance should perish, whereon depends the whole issue of all our charges, of the levy of Germany, and the consequence of the year's success to follow, and, in short, the very substance of the French

King's fortune, we have thought good, for discharge of ourselves to God, whose cause we profess to defend to our power, without further complaint for things past, to prepare for the King's support 1000 soldiers trained, double worth any other, to be extracted out of our bands in the Low Countries, presently to be sent over to the King with 400 pioneers and 50 miners out of England, upon condition that we may hear from him such present assurance of payment to be made to the Allmayne army, as may preserve our credit with the Princes of Germany, whereof we ever have had, and will have, tender regard, how lightly soever others respect their words and actions.

And now, although we have not, nor cannot, in any sort yield to the King any such forces as we did at the first, when we did appoint you our General over them, being, as you know, about 4000 men every way complete furnished, and therefore do know it were a great dishonor now for you to have tarried any longer with two regiments, so far short from your former charge; yet are we glad to understand by your letters, sent by Reynolds your servant, of the honorable success which you have had in your approach to Rouen, wherein both yourself and our people, as well gentlemen as others, have carried themselves both resolutely and wisely, to the daunting of the enemy, and the great honor of themselves; which action of yours, having been so well conducted and performed by you, although for yourself it hath made so good a conclusion as with honor you may return; yet do we require you in no wise to suffer any of these gentlemen to return, whom conveniently you can procure to remain, both for the countenance and strength of those troops to be left under your Marshal and Sir Tho. Baskerville; wherein, as you may for some of the gentlemen's return, use your discretion; so shall we think of those that for our service will not be content to remain, the matter being not like to be

long untried. This service, which they have already performed, hath grown rather of partial humor, than of any their devotion to our service in this time, when we are content to weaken ourselves from this enterprize; and therefore these letters may serve for the discharge of your return.

We have understood particularly by you, of the honor which all the gentlemen and others have gotten, for which we yield them our princely thanks.

No. LXXVI.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I have sent away this packet to advertize Her Maj. of our proceedings before Rouen.

Since my letters sent by Reynolds, the enemy never did attempt any thing near our quarter; but half way between us and the town they walk, where I send some loose shot to skirmish with them, and sit on the top of the hill to see whether we can draw them into an ambush or not: for this advantage I have over them, that I can see what is between us and the town; and they cannot tell when they are safe, by reason that the ground doth serve to place ambushes. They have every day lost some men, and we none these five or six days, till this day, when Captain Welch and one other of my company were slain; but the enemy losed the captain that did command the sally, for as soon as he was shot, they all came running about him, and retired into the town in haste. Two days ago, they sent out of the town many horsemen and footmen into St. Katerine's, and from thence made a sally upon Mons. Erocourt his quarter: they lost near 30 men, and killed but two of ours, but they burnt one house wherein some of his men were lodged. The King had been

[1] S. P. O. "France."

here this day, but that Mons. de Humiers and Mons. de Rekempre sent unto him for succor, for they had entered the town of Rue in Picardy, and could not win the citadel, and the Duke d'Aumale threatened to drive them out of the town; whereupon the King hath sent the Baron of Biron unto them, and stays to see what will become of this surprize. The King writes he will be here within two days. I commend my service to your L., and your L. to God's best protection. From the camp before Rouen, this 9th November.

A letter from Mr. Broughton, of the 12th November, relating to the Earl's private affairs, mentions the widow of his deceased brother. He says, "Mrs. "Walter Devereux and her mother came to London, "thinking to have found my Lord of Essex here, to "have had his Lordship's favor towards her, being "widow, and they lodge in my Lord of Hunting-"don's house; and it is generally thought that "Mr. Thomas Sidney shall have my Lady of Hun-"tingdon's[1] commendation to have the gentlewoman. "And this day, I having occasion to speak with "Mrs. Devereux, I found Mr. Sidney with her and "her mother, but not as a suitor until the funeral "be past."

It appears that as soon as her deceased husband was laid in the ground, it was customary for the widow to receive a new suitor. Mrs. Devereux had, therefore, been obliged to wait a most unjustifiable length of time; for De Thou informs us, that the comrades of Walter Devereux enclosed his body in

[1] Catherine Dudley, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Northumberland.

a lead coffin, and carried it with them to the siege of Rouen, intending to bear it into the town by the breech at the assault, the road he would himself have led them, had not death cut him off.

Again and again had Essex been urged to return home, and he appears to have found it necessary to go over to England a second time, to persuade Elizabeth to allow his longer stay in Normandy. His letters cease until the 11th December, when he writes to Burghley from Dieppe, on his way back to the army. The Queen's letter to him of the 23rd shows how unwillingly she had consented to his return; but that now he was gone, she would not recal him, as she was urged to do, but let him remain there so long as one man was left behind; telling him however, at the same time, that, when he is sufficiently well advised to desire it, she shall be right glad to see him back again.

No. LXXVII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—After two days tarrying for a wind, and almost three days sailing against the wind, I arrived at Dieppe the 10th of this month, and found the seven companies[2] which came from Flushing in the haven, but not unshipped. I did cause them to unship this morning and to march to Arques; to-morrow I am promised to have some carriages for them; on Monday I will go with them to the

[1] S. P. O. "France."

[2] Muster taken at Flushing of the seven companies embarked there, and delivered at Dieppe to the Earl of Essex, 7th December, 1591: by list, 1100; present, 638.

camp. They are but 600 heads, but those men that are, very proper men, all save Vanderbrooke's company, which is Dutch. Of all these things your L. shall know more by Sparhawk, whom I will to-morrow despatch for England. There come alarums of the Duke of Parma every day: he is, as they say, at Guise, and is looked for in these parts to levy the siege of Rouen. If we were stronger we should be able to do more service. I understand from the camp, that our English are much weakened since my departure, but Her Maj. in her princely wisdom knows what is convenient, and we will strive to discharge our duties to the full with those we have. I wish your L. all honor, health, and happiness; and rest, &c.

Dieppe this 11th December. R. ESSEX.

No. LXXVIII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—Your L. shall understand by Sparhawk the strength of these seven companies which he brought unto me. Your L. shall also receive by my L. ambassador's letters, which I send away to your L. this day, all the news that is at the camp. Of the siege of Rouen, and of the possibility of taking the town, I can write nothing till I come to the camp. The name of the Duke of Parma doth make a Frenchman startle, and his being at Guise is certainly believed, yet they which come from the Low Countries are of opinion that he is yet at Bruxelles. The King went on Thursday last to Gisors to put out the Governor, and place the Marquis d'Alegre there: the place is of importance, and Flanecourt, who was in it, is found unfaithful. I do mean upon my coming to the camp, which shall be to-morrow, if my

[1] S. P. O.

horsemen come, to muster our men there[1], and to cash most of the companies. I have not yet received your L. instructions which your L. told me of. I do wish for them, for as the duty of my place in this, so the reverence and affection I bear to your L. doth make me in all courses chuse your L. for a pilot. I do assure your L. this bearer hath done his best to bring the companies soon and in good order; and so ending my letter with many wishes, &c.

Dieppe, the 12th Dec. R. ESSEX.

No. LXXIX.[2]

The Queen to Essex.

Having received your letters of the 18th of this month, we expected thoroughly to understand particularly what reason we should have to continue our force with the French King underneath your charge, for which purpose you only pretended to us to be desirous to go over, with an offer to make your repair hither presently upon the true view of the state of things there, and the likelihood of their amendment or present declination.

To this your earnest and vehement desire we were contented to assent, rather by the persuasion of divers that saw your judgment so transported with the humour of the journey,

[1] The muster took place on the 16th and 17th:

Officers present - -	198
Soldiers ditto - - -	1089
Dead pays - - -	375
	1662
Deficient - - -	2288
	3950

Essex's own troop of horse mustered 88.

At Mont des Malades, on the 17th, there were 1106, out of which number no fewer than 226 were sick or wounded.

[2] S. P. O. 23rd December, 1591.

than that, by our own observation of all the course of this action, we had not apprehended both the untoward proceedings hitherto, and thoroughly foreseen the unlikelihood of any good to come hereafter, especially in such an action as had received his greatest wound, even in his first beginning, for want of timely proceeding, which all wise men do account the half gained in any action of importance.

Immediately upon your departure, before your arrival there, we received letters from the King declaring the desperateness of his estate and the nature of his demands, so unreasonable, or rather so impossible, to be performed, if we could have been contented to have been further exhausted by his endless devices, as we did much marvel to see a Prince so much to forget his friends, and could not but be offended with any that would presume to recommend the same. He assured us of the entrance of the Duke of Parma, and that he would most certainly be at Rouen within fifteen days, and therefore if he had not then 5000 men to meet him, he did not only expect little good, but rather quite the contrary, for so are the very words of his own letter. This seemed so strange to all that know the proceedings herein, as they never expected letters from you, but your immediate personal repair, wherein you should have shewed there a resolute judgment no longer to be led on, and here have confirmed that which your words assured us, and those which wished you best have most expected. We hear besides, to our no small wonder, how little the King regards the hazard of our men, and how you, our General, at all times refuse not to run with them to all service of greatest peril, but even, like the forlorn hope of a battle, to bring them to the slaughter. And therefore in regard that divers gentlemen of good quality, dear to their parents and blood, should not be vainly consumed to the grief of such as were contented to suffer them to go there for our service, we do command you to send them back although

yourself should stay; which for our own part, notwithstanding daily entreating to revoke you, we are determined not to do so long as one man is left behind; only this we are content to let you know, that if at last you shall be so well advised as to think how dishonorable it is for you to tarry with so mean a charge, after so many men consumed so little to the purpose they were sent for, with many other absurd defects, which blemish the honor of the place you hold under us as our General, we shall right well allow of your judgment to return as a thing very fit and necessary to be performed, and hereby do authorize you to leave our said companies with the Marshal and Serjeant Major, without putting Sir Thos. Leighton to any further trouble in this hard time of the winter, so great an enemy to his infirmity; of which our pleasure, leaving other particularities to be answered by our Treasurer, we have thought good to acquaint you by our own handwriting.

Next follow two letters written by Essex from Rouen, detailing his proceedings, the state of the siege and of his own men. It appears, also, that he was become dissatisfied with the slow progress made, and was only waiting for an opportunity of retiring with credit.

No. LXXX.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—According unto the instructions sent by your L., I have reduced the companies into eight of 100 a piece, which they are, accounting the sick men. If they do diminish, I will cash more of them; for the sick men, I have sent away with passport as many as were able to

[1] S. P. O.

creep towards Dieppe on their feet; the others I cannot send, for I have no carriage, but will send them away as soon as I can. Of the Duke of Parma I can send your L. no news, but that he doth march hitherward, taking the way of Amiens, but this extreme weather hath made him come slowly forward. It is thought he will come by Abbeville, and so take the way along the sea coast: if he do, assuredly he will think to divert the King from this siege by besieging of Dieppe; for mine own good I should wish that Her Majesty should send over more forces, because both my commandment and safety should be the greater; but I prefer public respects before private, and Her Majesty's will before mine own. I know the place is of wonderful importance, and I do assure your L. I will do my best to conserve it.

The siege of Rouen is in this state; the King's forces do daily increase, for upon the news of the Duke of Parma his coming, he hath sent for all his troops from all places; the enemy doth daily decrease, for we grow near unto them, so as we do every day attempt upon one another with loss of both sides, and, as your L. knows, one man within is a greater loss than four without. The King did desire me to draw down some men to guard his trenches sometimes on St. Katerine's side; whereupon I did draw five companies of them which came out of the Low Countries to lodge between Dernetal and Rouen, and drew the other two companies into Mont des Malades to the rest. Being myself one night in guard with three English companies, the King desired that I would send some men to force a trench which the enemy had made to cross ours, and to lodge in the counterscarp of the fort, which I did, the French and Lanzknechts giving upon other places. I sent Capt. Mostyn, Capt. Dockwray, Capt. Swan, and Mr. Ralph Boswell, every one with a small troop, to give upon those places, and, if they saw it reasonable, to enter the ditch; which I do assure your L. they did very

bravely perform. They entered the ditch, made an orderly retreat, whereupon I took the enemy's trench, and the counterscarp of the fort, and lodged 100 Englishmen upon it: the Baron of Biron did lodge in another place with some French and Lanzknechts: we held our guards till it was fair day; and then, having been two nights and a day before without sleep, I went to a house hard by to rest. I was not gone half an hour, but the enemy did sally out, and offered to force all our guards; the French and Lanzknechts did all leave their guard; our English fought very well half an hour, but at last retired in fear. Capt. Masterson and the lieutenants of Capt. Gates and Capt. Throgmorton did serve very valiantly. Sir Thos. Baskerville[1], who was left in the trench to second them, was like to be lost, for he ran to charge the enemy whilst our soldiers were running away. Ere I could come to them they had lost the places which we had won, and had given the enemy leisure to throw down many of the barrels which were set up to cover our trench. I brought with me 200 fresh men, led by Sir Ferd. Gorges, and offered to Mons. la Guiche, Master of the Ordnance, and left to command that day, to take all that our men had lost, which he nor no other of the French commanders would not consent unto; whereupon I only made good our trench, and set up and filled all the barrels which the enemy had cast down. Whensoever the King will, we will take, by the leave of God, all the counterscarp which we had, and, as we did last time, cut the throats of as many as are in it; for I do assure your L. but that we trusted to strangers and they deceived us, the place could not have been lost; and if we hold that, the enemy cannot defend the fort; but the expecting of the Duke of Parma makes the King afraid to do any thing. The King

[1] Third son of Sir James Baskerville, of Eardisley, Hereford. His grandfather married Sibilla, daughter of Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley. Sir Thomas's elder brother married Katherine, daughter of Walter, Viscount Hereford.

did take a packet of Villars two days ago, in which Villars complained of his loss of men and want of powder; and saith he must be succored very shortly, or else it will be too late, and without a battle he saith he cannot be succored, being besieged both by land and by water on all sides. I do assure your L., I desire for private respects to be rid of this French action; but if I should have come away before that we see whether the Duke of Parma comes or not, I should be an occasion, by such a dangerous example, to make the King's army break; which, rather than I would do, I would sacrifice myself for a public good. This gentleman's coming over is by Her Maj. commandment signified unto me, but much against his will. I do assure your L. he hath carried himself in this whole action very well, and hath been by all occasions to shew his valor, and increase his experience. I wish your L. honor, health, and happiness; and rest, &c.

R. ESSEX.

From the camp, this 26th of December, 1591.

No. LXXXI.[1]

Essex to Sir R. Cecyll.

Sir,—I write in haste, and with as little ease as ever man wrote: my man that brought me pen and ink doth swear he thinks the place unfit to write in, because his wits are not his own. We have now again all our first lodgings, whereof two of them are in the counterscarp, and one is in the trench which the enemy made to command ours: we will now keep it, or be as well beaten as ever men were. This day I have undertaken to guard it, and ere to-morrow it will be so strong as it will be out of danger. I wish you all good, and rest your most assured friend,

R. ESSEX.

From the counterscarp of St. Katerine's,
this 29th of December.

[1] S. P. O. "France."

The advance of the Prince of Parma forcing the King to draw off his army, and the prospect of a favourable termination to the siege being thereby lost, or deferred indefinitely; and his little army being wasted by the sword, sickness, and desertion, to a mere handful of men, Essex determined on returning to England. Before he did so, however, he took a step quite in accordance with his character. He sent a challenge to Villars, the Governor of Rouen, couched in these terms:—"Si "vous voulez combattre vous même à cheval ou à "pied, je maintiendrai que la querelle du Roi est plus "juste que celle de la Ligue, et que ma Maitresse est "plus belle que la votre."[1] Villars replied that his office of Governor forbad him to accept such a challenge; but the Chevalier Picard, who commanded a regiment in the garrison, offered to accept the combat. Essex, however, refused to meet any but one of equal quality with himself. This matter coming to the Queen's ears, a letter was written from the Council, telling him that "Her Majesty, having had "some report made to her of what passed, misliketh "that he, being a Nobleman and a Peer of the realm "by birth, and now Lieutenant-General of her army "in France, sent to aid the King, a sovereign Prince, "to chastise his rebels, of whom this Villars is a "principal, should give or receive any challenge: he "should rather disdain to answer but as a rebel "should be answered."[2]

[1] Mém. de Sully, i. 312. De Thou.

[2] Draught of a letter in S. P. O., in Burghley's handwriting.

On the 19th December[1], the Council wrote to him that, hearing some infection has broken out in his own familiar company, they heartily desire him to return from such danger to his person as they fear may happen from the increase of such infection. In order that some honorable motive should be given to the world, they say that, as his command has been reduced from 4000 to 1000 men, which is a mere colonel's command, they do not think it consistent with his dignity as General that he should remain there, and the Queen is determined not to increase the force. They desire him to explain this to the King, and to make over the command to Sir Thomas Leighton, ending their letter thus: "and finally we "do most earnestly require you, with all manner of "friendship that you can expect from us, to accept "these our motions to grow not only of our private "good will, but of some weightier causes, that are "more fit to be imparted unto you at your return, "than to be contained in these our letters."

Sir H. Unton, who had been ordered to further Essex's return, writes that "the King, though loth to "part with him, has shewn himself a careful furtherer "of his return;" and Essex himself, "though some-"what amused" with the talk of the approach of the Duke of Parma, and a battle, yet was willing to lay aside all other considerations, and conform to the Queen's pleasure.

Accordingly, on the [illegible] January, 1592, the Earl of

[1] S. P. O.

Essex issued an order, leaving Sir Roger Williams, Marshal of the camp, to command the eight companies into which he had formed the remnant of his army; and shortly after, accompanied by a great number of infirm and disabl[illegible] embarked at Dieppe. "Ce seigneur," writes th[illegible] ambassador, "en s'embarquant pour l'Anglet[illegible]pée, et en baisa la lame."

CHAPTER X.

LIFE OF ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.—*continued.*

ESSEX MIXES IN STATE AFFAIRS.—JEALOUSY OF THE CECILS.—ANTIPATHY OF RALEIGH.—ESSEX MANAGES HIS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.—SWORN OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.—ESSEX FAILS TO OBTAIN THE OFFICE OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR FRANCIS BACON.—ANECDOTE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AND SIR ROBERT CECYLL.—ESSEX'S DISAPPOINTMENT.—GIVES AN ESTATE TO FRANCIS BACON.—LETTERS TO ANTHONY BACON AND TO THE QUEEN.—ANECDOTE OF THE QUEEN.—ESSEX OBTAINS THE EARLIEST FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.—SUFFOLK AND ANTONIO PEREZ.—HIS ADVENTURES.—COMES TO ENGLAND WITH THE VIDAME.—HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH ESSEX.—HENRY IV. OF FRANCE DESIRES ASSISTANCE FROM ENGLAND.

We are now entering on a new phase in the career of Lord Essex, one which indirectly led to his ruin. Up to this time he had shown no desire to mingle in politics and state intrigues. Warlike service abroad, tiltings, masques, and revels at home, love, and the excitement of his life at court, had sufficiently amused him. He now, however, resolved to try his hand at statesmanship, and so came into collision with those whose vocation lay in civil affairs. Their jealousy was not unnaturally awakened by what they must have looked upon in the light of a trespass upon their peculiar province, while his vast influence with the highest person in the realm rendered him a dangerous rival.

From this ambition was to spring that rivalry

between Essex and the younger Cecyll, which, partly by the conduct of the Queen, whose system it was to place her principal servants in antagonism to one another, partly by means of the partisans of each, was to be fanned into a bitter enmity, whose flame could only be quenched in blood. Yet let us do justice to Sir Robert Cecyll: I not only believe that he had no desire to quarrel with Essex,—indeed, it is highly improbable, that a man of his cautious temper would have voluntarily entered on a course so full of danger to himself,—but I believe that he would have rejoiced to secure him as a friend and ally, and would have shared with him the power and patronage of the state, had the temper of the latter permitted it. But the Earl, too haughty and imperious to bear a divided sway with one of a class which he affected to despise, was resolved to be *aut Cæsar aut nullus*. How little chance of success the impetuous Essex, full of vehement and unrestrained passions, who never learned to disguise a feeling, or conceal a thought, had against the cool head and cold heart of Sir Robert Cecyll, the result too plainly proved.

In February, 1592, Mr. Anthony Bacon[1] returned to England from a residence of many years on the Continent. He endeavoured on his arrival to obtain from his uncle, Lord Burghley, some lucrative em-

[1] Anthony Bacon was eldest son by the second marriage of Sir Nicholas Bacon with Ann, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, sister to Lady Burghley born 1558. In 1577, he left Trinity College, and soon after went abroad; and did not return to England till February, 1592. The date of his death is unknown, but it occurred between the deaths of Essex and the Queen.

ployment; but he got only "fair words, with no "show of real kindness."[1] Both the old Treasurer and his son appear to have looked with jealousy and dislike on the Bacons, and always kept them back from advancement. Francis Bacon had some short time before dedicated his "studies to the use and "service of the Earl of Essex," and now his brother Anthony, disappointed in his hope of being assisted by his own relatives, and having "understood the rare "virtues and perfections of the Earl, and his special "noble kindness for his germain brother," and being extremely desirous to have an opportunity of shewing how much he honoured and esteemed him, and how earnestly he desired his good opinion, was soon brought to him by Francis, and very shortly after engaged in his service to conduct a correspondence with agents employed and paid by the Earl in Scotland and all parts of Europe; an office for which Mr. Bacon's extensive acquaintance with foreign countries and people eminently fitted him. It is not my intention to enter at all into the detail of these correspondences, which, although they obtained Essex great weight with the Queen, by the early and accurate intelligence he procured, have no immediate bearing on our subject, while the letters themselves are almost always from the pen of Anthony Bacon.

Essex resided entirely at the Court, while Bacon occupied the chambers of his brother Francis in Gray's Inn; and being very infirm from gout and

[1] Bacon MSS. Lambeth, v. 650. f. 21.

other discourses, and consequently unable to wait upon his employer, there was a continual private correspondence between them, from which I shall make some extracts; for the relations between Essex and A. Bacon being perfectly unrestrained and confidential, these are possibly the only letters in which the nature of Essex was truly and openly expressed, and they give a much more favourable impression of his mind and disposition than any others.

A Parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 19th February, 1593: three letters from the Earl of Essex to Mr. Bagot, directing the election of certain nominees of his for the county and boroughs of Staffordshire, are curious, as showing the scant ceremony which the great lords of that day used in such matters.[1]

The position of Essex at this time was one to make an older head giddy: he was courted by the young nobles who desired to enter the world under his auspices, and looked up to by all military men as their leader and patron; the Puritan party considered him as their protector[2], while the Roman

[1] The library at Longleat contains the following letter from Thos. Davies, Mayor, and eleven others, inhabitants of Carmarthen:—"Right Honourable,—Your Lordship's letters of the 20th Dec. last, with all due reverence, we have received; and although it pleased the Lord Keeper, by like letters of the 16th Dec., to request the nomination of our burgess of Parliament, yet have we, according to our duties, transmitted the blank herein closed, leaving the appointment of the person to your Lordship's best liking, unto whom our incessant orisons wish long continuance of all honor. Carmarthen, the 1st day of February, 1593. Your Lo. most dutiful to command."

[2] Heylyn, in his History of the Puritans, states that the admission of

Catholics looked to him to obtain toleration; he was the idol of the populace, while the Queen could scarce bear his absence from her side. No wonder that his lofty temper broke out occasionally in arrogance to his equals and even to his sovereign; though, to his honour be it said, his conduct to his inferiors was ever marked by the most singular delicacy and generosity.

No. LXXXII.[1]

Essex to Richard Bagot.

After my very hearty commendations, I have written several letters to Lichfield, Stafford, Tamworth, and Newcastle, for the nomination and election of certain burgesses, for the parliament to be holden very shortly; having named unto them for Lichfield, Sir John Wingfield and Mr. Broughton; for Stafford, my kinsman Henry Bourchier, and my servant Edward Reynolds; for Tamworth, my servant Thomas Smith; for Newcastle, Dr. James[2]; whom because I do greatly desire to be preferred to the said places, I do earnestly pray your furtherance, by the credit which you have in those towns; assuring them of my thankfulness, if they shall, for my sake, gratify those whom I have commended; and yourself, that I will not be unmindful of your courtesy therein. So I commit you to God's good

Essex caused him to affect that party. This is an unjust accusation. By his tutor Mr. Wright, who became a preacher, he must have been taught these doctrines, and always upheld them; but his principle was toleration of both religions.

[1] Blithfield MSS.

[2] These gentlemen, substituting Francis Cradock for Edward Reynolds were returned. Tamworth and Newcastle sent a second member, with whose election Essex does not appear to have interfered.

protection. From Hampton Court, the last of December, 1592.

Your assured friend,
ESSEX.

I send unto you the several letters, which I pray you cause to be delivered according to their directions.

No. LXXXIII.[1]

Essex to Richard Bagot,

After my very hearty commendations, I cannot write several letters to all those that have interest in the choice of the knights of that shire, to be appointed for the parliament intended to be held very shortly. To which place I do exceedingly desire that my very good friend, Sir Christopher Blount[2], may be elected. I do therefore commend the matter to your friendly solicitations, praying you to move the gentlemen, my good friends and yours in that country, particularly in my name, that they will give their voice with him for my sake; assuring them that, as they shall do it for one whom I hold dear, and whose sufficiency for the place is well known to them, so I will most thankfully deserve towards them and yourselves any travel, favour or kindness that shall be shewed therein. Thus I commit you to God's good protection. From Hampton Court, the 2nd January, 1593.

Your very assured friend,
ESSEX.

I persuade myself that my credit is so good with my countrymen, as the using of my name in so small a matter will be fair enough to effect it; yet I pray you use me so kindly in it, as to have no repulse.

[1] Birch's MSS.

[2] Sir Christopher was returned

No. LXXXIV.[1]

Essex to Richard Bagot.

After my very hearty commendations, as I have by my late letters commended Sir Christopher Blount to be elected one of the knights of that shire, for the parliament to be holden very shortly, by your friendly mediation; so I do, with no less affection and earnestness, entreat your like favour towards my very good friend, Sir Thomas Sherrard[2], for the other place: praying you that you will employ your credit, and use my name to my good friends and yours there, that they will stand fast to me in this request, and that my desire may be effected for them. They cannot give me better testimony of their love and affection, because they are such as I hold dear; and you may assure all such as shall join with you in election, that I will most thankfully requite their readiness, and furtherance them by any good office I can. So I commit you to God's best protection. From Hampton Court, the 9th January, 1593.

Your assured friend,

R. Essex.

I should think my credit little in my own country, if it should not afford so small a matter as this, especially the men being so fit. Therefore I commend you all, as I have interest in your labors, effectually in it.

On the 25th February, 1593, being Shrove Sunday, Essex was sworn a member of the Privy Council, since which, says Anthony Bagot, writing only one week after, "his Lordship is become a new man —clean forsaking all his former youthful tricks,

[1] Birch MSS.

[2] Sir Walter Harcourt was returned.

"carrying himself with honourable gravity, and singularly liked of both in Parliament and at Council-table, for his speeches and judgment." Whether Essex's *youthful tricks* were really cast off, or he was merely amused by a new situation, I will not undertake to say; but it is to be feared that a reform so very sudden could hardly be permanent. Yet he continued to do his duties diligently for some time, for "every forenoon, between seven and eight, his Lordship is in the higher Parliament House, and in the afternoon upon committees, for the better hearing and amendment of matter in bills of importance."[1] He was one of the Committee appointed to try petitions in this Parliament.

The House of Lords passed a resolution that there should be "a charitable relief made towards the aid and help of a number of soldiers that are seen in the time of this Parliament, maimed and sore hurt in the wars of France and the Low Countries, and on the seas, for the service of the Queen's Majesty and realm[2]," and ordered that every Archbishop, Marquis, Earl, and Viscount should contribute forty shillings, every Bishop thirty shillings, every Baron twenty shillings; and those Lords who were absent during the Parliament double the like amounts. The Earl of Essex and Lord Willoughby were appointed to distribute this money.

It was in this Parliament that Francis Bacon[3] made

[1] Richard Broughton to Richard Bager, March, 1593.

[2] Pach. Hist.

[3] Younger brother of Anthony Bacon, born, 22nd January, 1561; Solicitor-General, 1607; Attorney-General, 1610; Lord Chancellor, 1617; died, 1626.

the speech against granting the Queen three subsidies within a space of four years instead of six, which gave such deep offence to Elizabeth, that it was very long before he obtained pardon, and was one of the causes which kept him from promotion. In the spring of 1594, Sir Thomas Egerton, then Attorney-General, being made Master of the Rolls, Essex exerted every nerve to obtain the vacant office for Francis Bacon; declaring himself, says Anthony Bacon, "more like a "father than a friend unto him, and doubt not, but "that if he that should be first (the Lord Treasurer) "do but second the Earl, those gifts that God hath "bestowed on my brother shall be no longer fallow." Lord Burghley would have agreed to his appointment as Solicitor, but opposed the other. As Essex and Sir Robert Cecyll were returning together in a coach, from the examination of Dr. Lopez, the latter endeavoured to persuade the Earl to be satisfied with the Solicitorship for his friend, and the following characteristic conversation passed:—"My Lord," said Sir Robert, "the Queen hath resolved, ere five "days pass, without any further delay to make an "Attorney-General. I pray your Lordship to let "me know whom you will favour." Essex replied, that he "wondered Sir Robert should ask him that "question, since he must know, that, resolutely "against all the world, he stood for Francis Bacon."

"Good Lord," rejoined Sir Robert, "I wonder your "Lordship should go about to spend your strength in "so unlikely and impossible a manner. Can you name "one precedent for the promotion of so raw a youth to

"so great a place?" Bacon was, at this time, forty-four years of age; Cecyll, younger than his cousin, was in expectation of being shortly made Secretary of State.

Essex replied: "I have made no search for prece-"dents of young men who have filled the office of "Attorney-General; but I could name to you, Sir "Robert, a man, younger than Francis, less learned, "and equally inexperienced, who is suing and striv-"ing with all his might, for an office of far greater "weight." It was incautious of Sir Robert to lay himself open to the cutting severity of this reply; and he had only to answer, that the long services of his father might deserve to be rewarded by his son's appointment to an office that his abilities enabled him to fill; adding, that if Essex would be satisfied with the Solicitorship for Francis, it might be of easier digestion to the Queen.

"Digest me no digestions," cried Essex; "the "Attorneyship for Francis is that I must have, and "in that I will spend all my power, might, authority, "and amity, and with tooth and nail defend and pro-"cure the same for him against whomsoever: and "whosoever getteth this office out of my hands for "any other, before he have it, it shall cost him the "coming by. And this be you assured of, Sir Robert, "for now I fully declare myself: and for your own "part, Sir Robert, I think strange both of my Lord "Treasurer and you, that can have the mind to seek "the preference of a stranger before so near a kins-"man. For if you weigh in a balance the par-

"every way, of his competitor and him, only excepting five poor years, of admitting to a house of Court "before Francis, you shall find, in all other respects, "no comparison between them."[1]

All his efforts failed: the Queen, partly to punish Bacon, against whom her anger was yet warm, partly, as it seems, actuated by those motives of policy which invariably rendered Essex an unsuccessful suitor for his followers and friends, gave the appointment to Sir Edward Coke[2] in April, 1594. Essex then urged the Queen to make Bacon Solicitor, in which he was backed by Burghley. But here again, after a struggle of a year and a half, during which the office remained vacant, disappointment awaited him, and Sergeant Fleming[3] was nominated.

Essex felt this deeply on his friend's account, to whom he endeavoured to make amends by a gift, the munificence of which, and the delicacy with which it was offered, are admirable. We have the circumstance related by Bacon himself.[4] "'Mr. Bacon,' "said the Earl, 'the Queen hath denied me the place

[1] Birch, i. 152, from Mr. Standen's account in a letter to Anthony Bacon. Bacon MSS. 650, 50.

[2] Of a good family in Norfolk; he was born, 1562, called to the bar, 1578, married Bridget, daughter and co-heir of John Paston, 1582; he was appointed Attorney-general, 1594; married Lady Hatton, 1598; became Chief-justice of the Common Pleas, 1606; Chief-justice of the King's Bench, 1613; he was dismissed, 1616; committed to the Tower for vindicating the privileges of the House of Commons, 1621; and died, 1634. The Earl of Leicester is the representative of Sir E. Coke.

[3] Of a family in the Isle of Wight, in 1603 he was made Chief-baron of the Exchequer; succeeded Popham as Chief-justice, 1607; and died, 1613.

[4] Apology touching the late Earl of Essex, in a letter to the Earl of Devonshire.

"for you, and hath placed another; I know you are "the least part of your own matter, but you fare "ill, because you have chosen me for your mean "and dependance; you have spent your time and "thoughts in my matters: I die'—these were his "very words—'if I do not somewhat towards your "fortune; you shall not deny to accept a piece of "land[1], which I will bestow on you.' My answer "I remember was, 'that, for my fortune, it was no "great matter: but that his Lordship's offer made "me call to mind what was wont to be said when "I was in France, of the Duke of Guise, that he "was the greatest usurer in France, because he "had turned all his estate into obligations; mean-"ing that he had left himself nothing, but only had "bound numbers unto him. Now, my Lord, I "would not have you imitate his course, nor turn "your state thus by great gifts into obligations, for "you will find many bad debtors.'

"He bade me take no care for that, and pressed it; "whereon I said, 'My Lord, I see I must be your "hounager,' and hold land of your gift; but do you "know the manner of doing homage in law; al-"ways it is with a saving of his faith to the King "and his other Lords; and, therefore, my Lord,' "said I, 'I can be no more yours than I was, and "it may be with the ancient savings; and if I grow "to be a rich man, you will give me leave to give "it back to some of your unrewarded followers.'"

[1] The land was Twickenham park and garden, afterwards sold by Bacon for 1800*l*.

It must be recollected that the letter from which this is an extract, was written by Bacon to endeavour to soften the odium under which he laboured, for having not only basely deserted his generous and trusting friend, but gratuitously endeavoured, with all the art of the advocate, to deepen his offence when living, and blacken his memory when dead. All that he reports himself to have said in reply is therefore to be taken *cum grano*; though, if we read him literally, it would almost seem that he contemplated desertion to a more useful patron, at the very moment he was accepting this gift.

Our Earl appears, during the autumn of 1593, to have fallen back into some of the youthful tricks from which Anthony Bagot had pronounced him to be cured. At one time we find him "making a "start" to the Isle of Wight, and after a few days absence the Queen angry with him on his return. On another occasion, he again absents himself, "in a "stealing manner,"[1] and returns at six in the morning —decidedly a very youthful trick! These starts trouble his followers, and her Majesty reprimands him "for ranging so abroad."[2] Yet, in another month, he again makes a start, and is longer absent from the Court than he had been for some years; ever since he went, "the Queen has been in great "agitation, none can guess about what."[3]

On Twelfth night, 1594, there was a play and dancing at Court till one after midnight. The

[1] Birch, i. 124. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. 138.

Queen appeared on a high throne richly adorned, "as beautiful," says Mr. Standen, "as ever I saw "her, and next to her chair the Earl, with whom she "often devised in sweet and favourable manner."[1]

All matters of intelligence were at this period in his hands, which the Queen liked much: we will proceed with some of the letters to Anthony Bacon, arising out of these matters of intelligence.

No. LXXXV.[2]

Essex to Anthony Bacon.

Sir,—Your letter to myself is exceeding welcome; your excuse for not seeing Her Majesty all this while, and your grief for the want of doing that duty, shall be known unto her, as soon as I speak with her. Yesterday my health did not permit me to go to her, but this day I will not fail to impart unto her the effect of the last part of your letter: as for the other, concerning the parks, I shall have conference with your brother within these three or four days. I pray you believe that I shall please myself exceedingly to have anything in my power which may give Mr. Anthony Bacon the least satisfaction, as a gentleman whose virtue I reverence, and love his person, and one whom I will strive to persuade that I am,

Your very assured friend,
ESSEX.

The next letter is curious: in the first place, it appears as if the Earl did not always attend Her Majesty when she sent for him; and then, as it shows what means Elizabeth used to prove the capacity of

[1] Birch, i. 146. [2] Bacon MSS. Lamb. Libr. 653. 96.

her servant. I have subjoined a specimen of Essex's instructions to a foreign agent.

No. LXXXVI.[1]

Essex to Anthony Bacon.

Mr. Bacon,—The Queen hath sent for me in such kindness this morning, as I must not refuse to go to her. I hear not of Mr. Philips. I will acquaint you with my business, that you, upon conference with him, may do that which myself would have done. The Queen did require of me a draft of an instruction for matter of intelligence, seeming willing, now she hath sworn me one of her Council, to use my services that way. I persuade myself she doth it rather to try my judgment in it, than for any present necessity for instruction of any man that is to go. The places are Rheims and Rome. Mr. Philips hath known Mr. Secretary's courses in such matters, so as I may have counsel from you, and precedents from him. I pray you, as your leisure will serve, send me your conceit as soon as you can, for I know not how soon I shall be called on. I will draw some notes of mine own, which I will reform and enlarge by yours. In haste, this Friday morning,

Your most assured friend,
ESSEX.

Lord Essex instructed his agent as follows:—
"In my letters to Mr. Edmondes, I have required
"him to help you with some acquaintance in Paris,
"by whom you may learn more, and be able to
"yield better advertisements than a nearer seeing
"without such help can do. Besides, I would

[1] Bacon MSS. 653. 102.

"wish you to make use of your acquaintance "and conversation in the places where you live, "which you shall easily do if you choose such "company as do know much, and have advertise- "ments from many parts. And, also, if you can "enter into a cause of traffique with them, giving "the news of these parts of England, Ireland, and "Scotland, for payment of those of all parts of "France and of the frontiers. For the manner of "writing your advertisements I will leave you to "yourself, only advertising you, that at the first you "strive rather to write all than to be scant, for upon "newer directions you may every day cut off when "I have made you know what I think superfluous. "Also strive to know *res gesta magis quam consilia;* "not but that I think the latter of greater use, but "that I think the former falls better into your "course, and will be to be gotten, where, if you show "yourself so curious of the other, you shall be paid "with smoke."[1]

As these short notes scarcely ever have any date beyond the day of the week or the hour, it is impossible, excepting where the contents refer to some known event, to place them with any degree of certainty. We may however imagine, that, on the hunting morning when Essex wrote to his royal mistress the very remarkably expressed note which follows, and the full meaning of which every reader must interpret for himself, that, during the process of making "his horse tame," while he himself was

[1] Bacon MSS. 652. 45.

"mad," he was very likely to meet with such an accident as would give rise to the note to Anthony Bacon, which I have, therefore, placed next in order.

No. LXXXVII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Madam, — The delights of this place cannot make me unmindful of one in whose sweet company I have joyed as much as the happiest man doth in his highest contentment; and if my horse could run as fast as my thoughts do fly, I would as often make mine eyes rich in beholding the treasure of my love, as my desires do triumph when I seem to myself in a strong imagination to conquer your resisting will. Noble and dear lady, though I be absent, let me in your favour be second unto none; and when I am at home, if I have no right to dwell chief in so excellent a place, yet I will usurp upon all the world. And so making myself as humble to do you service, as in my love I am ambitious, I wish your Majesty all your happy desires. Croydon, this Tuesday, going to be mad and make my horse tame. Of all men the most devoted to your service,

R. ESSEX.

No. LXXXVIII.[2]

Essex to Anthony Bacon.

Sir, — Medea had not more sympathy of those which felt the same evils which herself did, than I have of my friend that is lame. My mischance hath made me be grave in going with a staff before my time. I would you were sure to be as soon rid of your infirmity, as I am in hope to be free from this kind of gravity. I that have only body to serve my country withal, should be unprofitable if my limbs were taken

[1] Hulton MSS. [2] Bacon MSS. 653. 227.

from me; but where the indisposition of the body is matched with an ability and strength of all parts and powers of the mind, the public use for which we are all born is not taken away. Therefore, though I would be without legs to be able to serve my country with Mr. Anthony Bacon's sufficiency, yet do I not envy the advantage you have of me in the better part, but wish I could lend you strength and borrow pain of you, to free you from this ill companion which keeps you from all your friends but those that are able to go to you. I wish you ease, strength, health, and happiness, and will ever be your most assured friend,

R. ESSEX.

The footing on which Essex stood with the Queen is one very difficult to define exactly. We have no means of showing how far the Earl was indebted to the passion of love for the influence he obtained over Elizabeth: but unquestionably her contemporaries did not consider her purity as quite unspotted; and although a zealous Englishman was occasionally found who maintained that she was "*virginissima*," the next generation did not hesitate to give utterance and belief to the sentiments of their fathers.

Among other curious anecdotes, I think the following worthy of insertion here; the Queen being sixty-two, and Essex twenty-four years of age, no one will be surprised at the anxiety he afterwards expressed to be relieved from the "glorious greatness "of a favourite."

Due Ambasciatori d' una confidente amicizia, di Francia l' uno, di Venezia l' altro, essendo venuti nella Corte, e nell' anticamera non vedendo la Regina, chiesero alla Signora

Annel, damigella della porta, *se Sua Maestà sarebbe visibile ben tosto?* Alla qual domanda rispose l'Annel, *Niuno può saperlo ch' essa medesima, ed il Signor Conte ch' è con lei;* ma qui è da sapersi che il Conte d' Essex non veniva chiamato nella corte per antonomasia, ma col solo nome di Conte, e quando si diceva il Conte, questo s' intendeva l' Essex, così grande era il favore, ed il privilegio di favorito. Ora alla risposta della S^a^ Annel, soggiunse l' Ambasciatore Veneto, *ma non potreste entrare per dirle che tutti siamo qui ad aspettarla, e che l' ora è già tarda?* Replicò l' altra, *e come entrare se la porta è chiusa di dietro? E chi sarà così ardita d' andare a pichiare la porta della stanza d' una Regina, mentre stà chiusa, e lei trattando gli affari del regno col suo principale ministro?* Preso subito l' Ambasciatore Veneto per la mano il Francese gli disse, *bisogna dunque tener la mula, al Signor Conte.* Ed a cui replicò il Francese, *questo è il vostro officio di tenèr la mula, ma per me mi contento di tener la candela, o per dire il vero l' ho tanto tenuta al Conte di Leicester nella mia prima Ambasciata, che non trovo ora più strano di tenèrla al Signor Conte d'Essex.*

Ma qui bisogna avvertire per render più aggradevole l' intelligenza del fatto al lettore, che in Italia suol dirsi d' un marito che consente, che gli sia accarezzata la moglie, *che tiene la mula,* ed al contrario in Francia si dice, *che tiene la candela.* Ed in fatti quando entrava un Francese nell' anticamera, e che ne trovava degli altri, mentre la Regina era chiusa nel suo gabinetto col Conte alle solite conferenze, chiedendoli che cosa facessero, rispondevano, *nous tenons la chandelle à M. le Conte,* e lo stesso facevano gli Italiani trà di loro, cioè, *teniamo la mula al S. Conte.*

Trovandosi con occasione di viaggio in Londra Don Antonio Sarsalé, Cavalier Napolitano, mentre una sera aspettava nell' anticamera della regina, arrivato l'Ambasciatore di Spagna, gli disse, che cosa fà Signor Don Antonio? a cui

rispose quello, *sto aspettando la Regina, che fa le sue funzione col Signor Conte d' Essex nel suo gabbinetto.* Soggiunse l' ambasciatore, *se fanno bene o male, noi non lo sappiamo, e se dicono pater nostri, o se si baciano sono soli a saperne la verità; ma se fanno bene, e se dicono pater nostri, hanno questa disgrazia che tutti credono che si baciano, e che fanno del male.*[1]

A rivalry appears to have arisen between Essex and Burghley, which of them should be the bearer to Elizabeth of the earliest foreign intelligence; which, by means of foreign agents and spies, should soonest detect the practices and plans of her enemies. To gain this end, Essex spent vast sums of money from his private resources[2]; but yet, for some time, his information was constantly anticipated by that of Burghley. By means of two persons, who were neglected by the latter, he at length came to have the best intelligences from Spain, the great enemy of England. The one was Mr. Anthony Standen, a zealous Roman Catholic, who having left England on account of his religion, had become a pensioner of the King of Spain, and was subsequently engaged in the service of the Queen by Sir Francis Walsingham. It appears that, through the mediation of Mr. Bacon, he was summoned to England, for Essex writes, "I am

[1] Istoria ovvero Vita di Elisabetta, Regina d'Inghilterra; scritta da Gregorio Leti. Amsterdamo, 1703. In his preface the author states, that he has been preparing this work during more than thirty years.

[2] For example, in a letter from one of his agents in France, he is informed that Mr. Edmonds has been paid 300*l.* for his journey to Lyons and 600 crowns more since his return: the agent desires directions on the subject, as this is much more than the Queen allowed to her agents. Bacon MSS.

"glad of the arrival of Standen, both for the use which "Her Majesty shall have of his service, and for the "honor and thanks you shall very worthily receive "from her for managing this matter so well. I "know not whether I should be glad or sorry that he "is light into my Lord Treasurer's hands, for if he "give him that encouragement, and do you that "right which he should, I think the address is very "happy: because his wisdom and his authority being "greatest, he can best employ him; but if he deal in "this great matter as he doth with lesser intelligences, "I could have wished Standen free from my L." In the same letter he shows how unwilling he is to increase the jealousy of Burghley respecting these matters of intelligence: "As for sending to Standen "by Mr. Fowle, now he is engaged to my L., I "think it inconvenient; but as I would have done "any thing for him if he were free from other men "now, so will I whensoever he shall well untie "himself; but now I must either wrong my L., or "else be but the rehearser of that which my L. "will bring the Queen.

"I know my L. is jealous, and I am as careful not "to give him any offence."[1]

Burghley neglected Standen, who did "untie" himself, and become attached to Essex, whom he subsequently accompanied to Cadiz.

[1] Bacon MSS. 553. 131.

No LXXXIX.[1]

Essex to Anthony Bacon.

Sir,—I do give you great thanks for your letter. I do also thank Mr. Standen exceedingly for his advertisement. I will be to-morrow at London, and if about three or four in the afternoon you will send your coach to the ferry of Lambeth to stay for me on Westminster side, I will come to you to Gray's Inn. I pray you commend me to your brother, and tell him I am proud to learn by Mr. Font of his recovery. Excuse me to Mr. Standen for my not writing: I have been two days absent, and have now at one time a world of papers to peruse over. I will advise with himself to-morrow in what manner I shall impart his advice to the Queen. I wish to you as to myself, and rest your most assured friend,

R. ESSEX.

No. XC.[2]

Sir,—I thank you for your good news. I have some impediment of coming to London this day, by the Vidâme's coming hither in the afternoon and the Queen's riding abroad at night. To-morrow, in the morning, if you think so good, I will come to Gray's Inn to see you and your brother, where, if Mr. Standen be, I shall desire to speak with him. And so wishing to you as to myself, I rest your most assured friend,

R. ESSEX.

P. S. I pray you commend me as kindly as you can to your brother. If I may come, then return me no answer; but if you think it inconvenient, let me hear from you.

The Vidâme of Chartres, who came to England in the summer of 1593, was accompanied by the other

[1] Bacon MSS. 653. 161. [2] Ibid. 653. 163.

individual referred to above, as one of Essex's intelligencers, and of whose remarkable adventures and character some notice must be taken.[1]

Antonio, son of Gonzalo Perez, Secretary of State to Charles V., was born about 1540. He became very early attached to the service of Philip II., filling the same post as his father, and by his insinuating address, his lively intelligence, and unscrupulous devotion to his master's will, he obtained a greater share of the confidence of Philip II. than that suspicious and jealous prince ever accorded to any other of his servants. Intoxicated with the favour shown him, Perez treated men of the highest rank with arrogance and hauteur, even at the king's table: this, added to his habits of unbounded expense and luxury, with his love of play and pleasure, excited great animosity against him among the staid courtiers of Philip II., and an occasion only was wanted to overthrow him.

Philip, who desired to thwart the ambitious designs of his brother, Don John of Austria, who had wished to establish a kingdom in Tunis, and whose views, favoured by the Pope, were now turned towards England, placed Don Juan Escovedo near him as Secretary, who was specially enjoined to direct the thoughts of Don John from these projects. Escovedo speedily forgot his orders, and entered fully into his master's views. Perez was therefore commanded to correspond with Don John and Escovedo,—the

[1] Antonio Perez et Philippe II.; par M. Mignet: Paris, 1845: from which this account of Perez is chiefly taken.

former of whom trusted him, the latter was his friend; and by expressing himself with freedom concerning the King, to induce them to confide in him. Perez fulfilled this hateful office, and betrayed to Philip the secret plans of Don John, who was then in the Low Countries, and who had occasion shortly afterwards to send Escovedo to Spain. While he was there, the Royal Council determined that there was reason to believe Don John might attempt some action which would involve the repose of Spain, if the Secretary Escovedo were permitted any longer to remain with him.

It was resolved that Escovedo should be put to death secretly, and Perez, at his own desire, was charged by the King with the execution of this murder. Submissive obedience to his master's will was not the motive of Perez in undertaking this. Escovedo had discovered and remonstrated against the amours of Perez and the Princess of Eboli, and threatened to disclose his knowledge to Philip, who was the rival of Perez in the affections of that lady. Thus friendship had given place to hatred and fear, and the removal of Escovedo became necessary to Perez. After many failures, his emissaries succeeded in assassinating Escovedo, the last day of March, 1578.

Suspicion immediately attached to Perez: the Escovedo family accused him to Philip, who listened graciously to their complaint. Finding that no suspicion rested on himself, the treacherous monarch would gladly have made Perez his scapegoat; but

the Secretary held letters under his master's hand completely compromising him: he did not, therefore, allow any process to be commenced at that time against Perez. The enemies of the Secretary, however, did not let the matter rest; and Philip, being at length informed of the connection between the Princess Eboli and Perez, and the secret cause to which the death of Escovedo was attributed, resolved to get rid of the servant who knew too much, and the favoured rival, at one blow.

On the 29th July, 1579, the Alcalde of the court arrested Perez at eleven o'clock at night, and at the same hour the Princess Eboli was seized and carried off to the fortress of Pinto; Philip himself watching, under the portico of the church St. Mary Major, which was opposite her house, to see his orders executed, and then returning to the palace, walked about his apartments in great agitation till five in the morning.

Perez remained a prisoner with certain liberty in charge of the Alcalde, until his excessive expenditure, and the enormous sums he staked at play, gave opportunity to his enemies to demand an inquiry into his conduct as minister. His corruption was evident: inheriting nothing from his father, he lived more sumptuously than any grandee of Spain, and went about with a greater train; and his annual expense was calculated at 20,000 ducats.[1] No sentence was pronounced till 1585, when he was

[1] The ducat was equal to 8·94 francs; the maravedi, a fraction more than a centime.

condemned to imprisonment in a fortress, and to repay 12,224,783 maravedis. Perez complained bitterly of this sentence, but without avail: as the favour of the King had been great, so now was his hatred unrelenting, his desire of revenge implacable. Perez however, possessed papers compromising the King, which, to obtain some amelioration of his imprisonment he was induced to give up in two years afterwards. Philip, thinking himself safe, suffered the prosecution for Escovedo's murder to proceed: some of the assassins were found; one confessed to have been employed by Perez, who, feeling the danger of his position, supplicated the King for favour; the latter took no other notice of his letters than sending them to the judges to form part of the process. Still there was great difficulty in proving him guilty, and, to force a confession, Philip directed that he should be put to the torture. The question being applied, Perez after enduring eight turns of the cord, confessed that he was ordered by the King to cause Escovedo to be put to death. He was left in prison, and conscious that the next step would be his death, all his ingenuity was taxed in order to effect his escape. This, with his limbs rendered useless by the rack, seemed no easy matter: but, by exaggerating his illness, and obtaining medical attestation that he was at the point of death, his wife, whose devotion was unbounded, and her exertions unceasing, at length obtained permission to visit her husband. Perez feigning to be worse than usual, on the 20th of April, 1590, escaped in his wife's clothes, and mounting

horses which had been provided, reached Aragon. Every body rejoiced at his escape; enmity had given way to pity and alarm at the spectacle of a minister so unrelentingly persecuted for having obeyed his sovereign's will.

Once in Aragon, he was safe; the Kings of Castile had always, on taking the title of Aragon, sworn, to observe the *fueros* of that kingdom, which, with all his power, Charles V. had never dared to infringe. Among the most valued of these privileges was the Court of *Justicia mayor*, whose decrees, though they might annul those of the Royal Courts, could not be revoked even by the King. To this court Perez appealed; and as, with craft superior even to Philip's, he had retained documents to substantiate the fact that the King had ordered the death of Escovedo, he was acquitted.

Philip was not yet disarmed; he had another engine in reserve, whose very name fills the mind with a mysterious horror—the Inquisition! This tribunal, devoted to the King, and always ready to carry on a political persecution under the mask of religion, speedily exhibited charges of heresy and blasphemy against Antonio Perez, and demanded that he should be given up to their familiars at Saragoza. This was complied with by the authorities of the *Justicia mayor*, but, becoming known, the people rose, headed by the nobles, and with loud cries of *contra fueros* they demanded and obtained Perez from the prison of the Inquisition, replaced him in that of the Manifestado, and the tumult ended. A second time he was about to be delivered over to the tender

mercies of the Holy Office, a second time was he rescued by the people of Saragoza, and set at liberty on the 24th September, 1591. It was not, however, till the end of November, that he arrived at Bearn, where he was received by the Princess Catherine, sister of Henry IV., with great distinction; and for the first moment, during more than twelve years, he might consider himself in safety. He was received and pensioned by the French King, who made use of his counsel in Spanish matters, and took the opportunity of sending him over to England with the Vidâme of Chartres, in order, as he said in his letter to Queen Elizabeth, "que vous entendrez de lui choses "dont vous pourrez vous servir." The real object, no doubt, being that he might add strength to the anti-Spanish party at the English Court, at the head of which was the Earl of Essex, to whom Perez was likewise specially recommended by the French King.

Burghley, always cautious, and by age rendered still more so, had originally advised the Queen to support Henry IV. against his enemies; but now that the King had conquered the League, both in the field and by his change of religion[1] it appeared to the Lord Treasurer that he was able by himself to withstand the power of Spain; and he was for reducing the assistance afforded to France to the lowest point.

Essex, on the other hand, held, as became his years and character, a bolder and more generous line of policy. Considering that, if France were inadequately

[1] Henry conformed to the Church of Rome in 1593.

assisted, Henry might be compelled to make a separate peace with Spain, he desired to hold common cause with that monarch against Philip.

Between these opposing counsellors Elizabeth held the balance; she listened to both, and decided in favour of neither, in the meanwhile saving her men and money, which was always a first object with her. At this juncture Perez was sent over by Henry, in the hope that his persuasions might turn the scale. He was well received, and the Queen gave him a pension of 130*l.* during his residence in England: but she was not moved to enter into a warlike alliance against Spain, urging her displeasure at the conversion of Henry, and his success against the League and against Spain.

The talents of Perez, his misfortunes, and his agreeable manners, all recommended him to Essex, and a great intimacy between them followed: they corresponded in Latin, which he wrote with vigour and elegance. He was also intimate with the two Bacons, especially Anthony, which gave great offence to their mother, a woman of the strictest principles; who, writing to Francis, thus expressed herself: "Though I pity your brother, yet as long as he pities "not himself, but keepeth that bloody Perez, yea, as "a coach-companion and a bed-companion, a proud, "profane, costly fellow, whose being about him I "verily fear the Lord God doth mislike, and doth less "bless your brother in credit, and otherwise in his "health, surely I am utterly discouraged." [1]

[1] Bacon MSS. 653. 175.

In January 1595, Henry IV., who had hitherto treated that country only as the ally of the League, declared war against Spain, and wrote to Perez to return, as he desired much to consult him: Perez went over in the beginning of August, parting from Essex with great reluctance, as appears by his letter of farewell: — "Discedere a te mihi mori est, quia manere "tecum mihi vita fuit. Quid dixi? Melius mihi esset "mori quam a te discedere. Moriendo semel dolori "finis imponitur; vivendo autem dolor augetur: "namque vivendo semper morior, et moriendo semper "vivo. Sed discedendo forte vivam, eo quod animam "tuam, quæ quondam mea fuit, mecum defero; at "tuam, quæ mea est, proh dolor! relinquo.[1]"

Henry IV. expressed his thanks to Essex for dispatching Perez to him thus:—

No. XCI.[2]

Henry IV. to Essex.

Mon Cousin, — La personne du Sr. Antonio Perez m'a toujours été très chère, et sa présence et demeure en mon royaume ne me sera pas moins agréable et utile. Je vous remercie donc du secours que vous m'en avez donné, que je prise d'autant plus que je sais que vous l'avez fait avec un incommodité; il ne peut pas être si bien traité qu'il merite et que je voudrais. Aussi faut-il qu'il participe aux misères de la France, puisqu'il veut avoir part comme il a aux bonnes graies du Roi qui y commande; consolez le du continuation de votre amitié, il en supportera plus doucement nos incom-

[1] Bacon MSS. 651. 107.

[2] Bacon MSS. 652. 174. orig. Henry IV. signed his name as in the text.

modités, et je recueillerai le principal fruit du faveur que vous lui ferez: pour m'en revancher à votre contentement quand vous voudrez employer le meilleur de vos amis. Sur cette vérité je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, mon Cousin, en sa sainte garde. Ce 4me de Decembre, 1595. Au Camp de la Fére.

HENRY.

The Spaniards entered Champagne and threatened Franche Comté, when Elizabeth sent over Sir Roger Williams, with an offer of 8000 men, on condition of certain forts being placed in her hands. There was no result to this negotiation; but the next spring, 1596, when the Cardinal Archduke Albert[1], who had taken on him the government of the Low Countries, advanced into Picardy, and threatened Calais, the Queen again sent, by Sir Robert Sidney[2], offering a large reinforcement if the King would place Calais or Boulogne in her hands as security. Henry, full of indignation at this proposal, turned his back on Sir Robert, saying, "Qu'il aimoit mieux recevoir un "soufflet du Roi d'Espagne qu'une chiquenaude "d'elle."[3]

[1] Third son of the Emperor Maximilian II.; he was born, 1559; married Clara Isabel Eugenia, daughter of Philip II. of Spain; and died, 1621.

[2] Second son of Sir Henry Sidney and Lady Mary Dudley; he was baptized, 1563; married the heiress of John Gamage, of Coity, Glamorgan; and died, 1626, leaving issue. He was created by James I. Lord Sidney of Penshurst, Viscount de l'Isle, Earl of Leicester, and was a K. G.

[3] Lingard's History of England, vol. vi. p. 558. from life of Chancellor Egerton.

CHAPTER XI.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

CONSPIRACY OF RODERIGO LOPEZ. — SCOTCH CORRESPONDENCE: LETTER FROM KING JAMES. — ELIZABETH USES ESSEX AS FOREIGN SECRETARY. — DOLEMAN'S BOOK ON THE SUCCESSION. — FLEMING MADE SOLICITOR-GENERAL. — ESSEX'S MEMORIAL ON THE DEFENCES OF THE COUNTRY. — HE ENTERTAINS THE QUEEN WITH A DEVICE. — SIR ROGER WILLIAMS DIES. — THE CECYLLS ENDEAVOUR TO DETACH ANTHONY BACON FROM THE EARL OF ESSEX. — HIS CORRESPONDENCE SO EXTENSIVE AS TO REQUIRE FIVE SECRETARIES. — HIS ADVICE TO THE EARL OF RUTLAND ON HIS TRAVELS.

In the autumn of 1593, Essex fitted up six or eight apartments in Essex House, that he might confer with his friends; and there, shortly afterwards, Anthony Bacon took up his abode.

In January, 1594, Anthony Bacon being then at Gorhambury, Essex writes that he has been kept the last two days in his sleeve, and so troubled with examinations, that he has scarce had leisure to eat. "I have discovered," he continues, "a most dan-"gerous and desperate treason. The point of the "conspiracy was Her Majesty's death; the execu-"tioner should have been Dr. Lopez; the manner by "poison. This I have so followed as I shall make it "appear as clear as noon-day."[1] On the 24th, the Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cecyll, and Essex examined into the matter at the house of the first named.

[1] Bacon MSS. 653. 171.

Dr. Lopez' house was searched, but no writings were found, and the Cecylls, who were extremely unwilling that Essex should have the credit of such a discovery, declared their belief in the innocence of Lopez, and Sir Robert posted to the Queen before the Earl to tell her so. Instead of being received as he expected, with thanks and praise, Essex was reproached by her as a "rash and temerarious youth," who had taken up a matter against the poor man which he could not prove, and whose innocence she knew well enough; but this matter was hatched against him by malice, which displeased her much.

Mr. Standen happened to be waiting at this moment to see the Earl, and tells us[1] that his Lordship came in from the Queen, and in a great fury cast open the door before him, and shutting himself into his own chamber, went into his cabinet with the like rage, and remained shut in for an hour. At the end of the hour he was calm, and gave Mr. Standen a gracious audience; but he would not leave his apartments to go to the Queen until she had made "atonement," which, at the expiration of two days, during which the Lord Admiral constantly passed to and fro, was made to his satisfaction, and the examination of Lopez was proceeded with.

Roderigo Lopez was a Portuguese Jew, who had been for many years physician to the Queen's household. The accusation against him was that he had engaged to poison Elizabeth for a bribe of 50,000

[1] Bacon MSS. 650. 17.

crowns, offered him by the agents of the King of Spain, which sum was to be paid in Antwerp.

A charge of high treason was made out against him, and he was brought to trial, 28th February, 1594; and it appearing, by his own confession, that he had held conferences with two Portuguese on the subject, his only defence being that he intended to cozen the King of Spain out of the 50,000 crowns, he was condemned and executed.

Among his correspondents, Essex now numbered King James of Scotland, of whose letters we give a specimen, affording a striking contrast to the flowing style of the Earl. The cause of his sending the two ambassadors, Bruce of Kinloss, and Colvill of Easter-Weims, was this: Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, descended from a natural son of James V., was a man of turbulent disposition, who having engaged in various traitorous enterprizes and attempts to seize the person of the King, for which he was obliged to fly the country, took refuge in the north of England, where he received countenance and protection: to remonstrate against this breach of treaties which bound Elizabeth to give up all fugitive rebels, the envoys were now sent. The Queen excused herself on the plea of the slow execution of her advice respecting the three popish Earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, and the favour shown them in Scotland. Mutual promises were made—by James, that he would take active steps against the Earls; by Elizabeth, that the Earl of Bothwell should, in future, find no protection in England, and that the King

should not lack funds to enable him to pursue the popish Earls.

The Scotch correspondents of Essex were Mr. Bowes, Elizabeth's ambassador to that court, Dr. Morrison, and Mr. Foulis; and in many of the notes from Essex to Anthony Bacon, we find that the Queen had considered the letters of Dr. Morrison and the others, and directed certain replies to be sent to them: there does not appear to have been any correspondence kept secret from her.

No. XCII.[1]

K. James to Essex.

Right trusty and well-beloved Cousin,—Although I have this long time forborne the writing unto you, because of the wrong ye received therethrough, suppose not in my default, but in the default of them that were betwixt us; but now having directed the two gentlemen ambassadors to the Queen your sovereign, upon weighty and urgent occasions, importing no less than the break of the amity so long and happily continued betwixt the two crowns; I would not omit this occasion unsending these few lines unto you, hereby to pray you favourably to hear, and according to the friendship I look for at your hand, to further them as far as in you lies, to a good and speedy despatch. I look, my Lord, that a nobleman of the rank you are of, will move and assist the Queen with your good advice, not to suffer herself to be soiled and abused any longer with such as prefer their particular and unhonest affections to the Queen's princely honor, and peace of both the realms; but I refer the particu-

[1] Birch's Memoir of Queen Elizabeth, i. 175.

lars of all to the bearers' report, whom I have commanded to use your advice in all their proceedings. And thus, right trusty and well-beloved Cousin, I bid you heartily farewell.

Your very loving friend,

JAMES R.

From Edinburgh, the 13th April, 1594.

It appears that, at this time, Elizabeth was willing to make use of the zeal and talents of Essex as a species of Foreign Secretary. We are told that "all "matters of intelligence are wholly in his hands, "wherein the Queen receiveth great liking, as by her "words to the father and son, touching this point, is "known; *unde illæ lachrymæ.*"[1] Also, that the Queen gave him her letters from abroad to open and read. On another occasion he received from Anthony Bacon a translation of a letter from the King of Barbary to the Queen, and was to consult with her about an answer.

In July of this year, 1594, it was in agitation to send an expedition to Brest, to assist the French, in which Essex, as usual, desired to be a leader: the Queen thereon "used gracious words, to wit, that "his desire to be in action, and to give further "proofs of his valor and prowess, was to be liked "and highly commended, but that she loved him "and her realm too well to hazard his person in any "lesser action than that which should import her "Crown and State; and thereupon willed him to "be content, and gave him a warrant for 4000*l.*

[1] Bacon MSS. 49. 296.

" sterling, saying, look to thyself, good Essex, and " be wise to help thyself without giving thy enemies " advantage, and my hand shall be readier to help " thee than any other."[1]

Lord Essex was a great sufferer from ague, a complaint, indeed, which appears to have afflicted the majority of persons at that period. His secretary, Edward Reynolds, writes in February, 1595, to Mr. Bacon, " I have been a prisoner these four or five " days, because my Lord hath been so himself, by " reason of his indisposition. The business that " hath arrested me here hath been very small, but " attendance is as much necessary in sickness as " in health, and somewhat more, for that the times " of employment are so uncertain, and the offence of " absence great. This day is a calmer day than all " the rest; and the sun, that is, Her Majesty, hath " favorably shined upon us by her gracious visit- " ation, which seemeth to have much comforted his " Lordship."[2]

In the autumn of the same year came another trouble to Essex, although, as regarded the Queen, this cloud speedily blew over.

A book had been published at Amsterdam, under the name of R. Doleman, although it was chiefly written by Parsons, a Jesuit, and a leading member of the Spanish party, entitled, " A Conference about the Succession to the Crown of England," and dedicated to the Earl of Essex. The object was to raise the

[1] Bacon MSS. 655. 45. [2] Ibid. 650. 149.

question of the succession, always a most unpalatable one to Elizabeth; and the right of the Infanta of Spain, as a descendant of John of Gaunt, was therein advocated. The dedication was supposed to be a trick of his enemies to bring Essex into disfavour, more especially as his own claim, as a descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III., had been brought forward by some persons not long before. Rowland White writes to Sir R. Sidney, that the Earl looked wan and pale at his coming from Court, and that he was afterwards confined with illness; but on the 12th November he writes again, that "my L. of Essex hath put off the melancholy into which he fell by reason of a printed book delivered to the Queen, wherein the harm meant him, by her gracious favour and wisdom, is turned to his good, and strengthens her love unto him; for I hear, that, within these four days, many letters sent to herself from foreign countries are delivered only to my L. of Essex, and he to answer them." [1]

It appears, however, he had another cause of grief at this time, for on the 14th October, Serjeant Fleming had been appointed Solicitor-General, disappointing the hopes of Essex, and of all Francis Bacon's friends, and, indeed, Lord Burghley himself; for we gather from a conversation Lady Bacon had with Sir Robert Cecyll, in which she reproached him and his father for not getting her son placed, that Lord

[1] Sidney Mem. i. p. 360.

Burghley had moved the Queen to appoint Francis Bacon, who asked, "Is there none, I pray you, fit for "that place but Francis Bacon?" to which Burghley replied, that the judges and others thought him well fitted, and all men expected his appointment. Either the Cecylls played very false, or the Queen did not think Bacon sufficiently punished for his speech on the subsidies in 1593.

The book on the succession had some important results. It created a great sensation, both at home and abroad; the Queen was angry, the King of Spain, flattered and gratified with the idea of seeing his daughter on the throne of England, increased and hastened his preparations for a great naval expedition. The secret agents of England communicated every particular, and the Royal Council was much occupied in considering what course it was desirable to pursue.

Essex drew up a memorial to the Queen on the subject of the invasion of England, and the mode of defence, of which the heads were as follows: —

General provisions necessary; as money, a navy, artillery, munition, and arms. Magazines of victuals; as corn, butter, cheese, bacon, and such like, to be made in various parts of the realm. Able and trained soldiers.

The enemy's likeliest designs were, by Scotland, because they had there ports for their shipping; by Ireland, because they had already part of that country in rebellion; by the river Severn, which their

small ships might enter, while they had Milford Haven for their large ships; by the south and west parts of England, where, by seizing and fortifying some port, they might command the narrow seas.

For defence, in the case of invasion by Scotland, Berwick and Carlisle ought to be fortified, the forces of the northern counties to make head towards the borders, and rendezvous at Newcastle; to be supported by those of Nottingham, Lincoln, and the south of Yorkshire, to rendezvous at York. In case of an attack on Ireland, supplies of men, money, victuals, and ammunition must be sent over, for they lacked all, and the best havens should be made defensible. For the defence of the Severn, Milford Haven ought to be fortified in three places, which he would show her Majesty on the chart, some fortress on the Severn made, and Bristol strengthened: never having been there, he could not designate the place; but if it pleased the Queen, he would go down and examine the country for that purpose. All the forces of Wales should be ready to concentrate, and to be supported by those of Hereford, Gloucester, Salop, Derby, and Stafford. Against invasion by the south or west, Plymouth, being the key of that country, must be well garrisoned, and its fortifications finished. Falmouth, Dartmouth, and Portland, being good ports, ought to be strengthened. The forces of Devon and Cornwall to be under one head, and supported by those of Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshires. Hampshire to garrison Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, to guard their own coasts, and all the

other counties to form an army, to guard her Majesty's person, and act in any direction required.[1]

Neither the important consideration of a Spanish invasion, nor his disappointment about Francis Bacon, nor his annoyance at the dedication of Doleman's book, interrupted his pursuit of pleasure. On the 17th November, being the anniversary of Her Majesty's accession, Essex gave the Queen an entertainment in the Tilt Yard, and exhibited one of those quaint devices, as they were termed, with which it was customary to amuse and flatter her. This was greatly commended, but having been drawn up by Francis Bacon, a brief sketch of it, as described in a letter from Rowland White to Sir R. Sidney, will suffice. "Some pretty while before he came in "himself to the tilt, he (Essex) sent his page with "some speech to the Queen, who returned with Her "Majesty's glove. And when he came himself, he "was met with an old hermit, a secretary of state, a "brave soldier, and an esquire. The first presented "him with a book of meditations: the second, with "political discourses: the third, with orations of "brave fought battles: the fourth was but his own "follower ——. Comes into the tilt-yard unthought "upon, the ordinary post-boy of London, a ragged "villain all bemired, upon a poor lean jade, galloping "and blowing for life, and delivered the secretary a "packet of letters, which he presently offered my "L. of Essex; and with this dumb-shew our eyes

[1] Bacon MSS. 651. 180.

"were fed for that time. In the after supper before "the Queen, they first delivered a well penned speech "to move this worthy knight to leave his vain follow- "ing of love, and to betake him to heavenly medita- "tion; the secretaries all tending to make to have "him follow matters of state, the soldiers persuading "him to the war; but the esquire answered them all, "and concluded with an excellent, but plain English, "that this knight would never forsake his mistress' "love, whose virtue made all his thoughts divine, "whose wisdom taught him all true policy, whose "beauty and worth were at all times able to make "him fit to command armies."[1]

In December one of Essex's faithful followers, Sir Roger Williams, died of a surfeit, at Barnards Castle, leaving all he had, writes R. White, "to my L. of "Essex; who, indeed, saved his soul, for none but he "could make him take a feeling of his end; but he died "well, and very repentant." This is a new light in which to view the character of Essex, exhorting to repentance the dying sinner. White continues: "His "jewels are valued at 1000*l.* 'Tis said he had 1200*l.* "out at interest. In ready gold he had 200*l.*, and in "silver 60*l.* His plate is worth 60*l.*, his garments "30*l.*, his horses 60*l.*, and this is his end. He desired "to be buried in Paul's, and I hear my L. of Essex "means to have it done in very good martial sort." And doubtless he did, for he was not the man to do any thing by halves; and probably to give honour

[1] Sidney Mem. i. 362. See Appendix F. for a device written by Essex himself, with which he entertained the Queen on another occasion.

to his deceased friend cost him the whole of his legacy.

In the same month, the Earl of Huntingdon, being dangerously ill at York, the Queen sent Essex to take command of the North until the Earl had recovered, or in the event of his death, until a trusty successor was appointed.

During the autumn of 1596, the Cecylls had made an effort to detach Anthony Bacon from the interests of Essex, by the agency of his aunt Lady Russell. Bacon writes to his patron an account of his interview with her. The charges which she made against him at the instance of the Lord Treasurer were, that he was grown corrupt in religion, factious and busy, undutiful and unnatural; that he was intimate with Standen a fugitive, and Wright a seminary priest, and with Lord Harry Howard[1]; that he was too well known and beloved in Scotland to be a good Englishman; that he busied himself in matters above his reach, such as foreign intelligence and entertainment of spies (here lay the sting, the intelligence he received being earlier and better than the Cecylls obtained, by which Essex gained much credit with the Queen); that he had not only abandoned the kind old nobleman, Burghley, who loved him as a second father (this is rather amusing, Burghley

[1] Second son of Henry, Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded, 1547; brother of the Duke of Norfolk, beheaded, 1572; he was created by James I. Earl of Northampton, K. G.; and died, 1614. A man of learning, but infamous, a flatterer, a sycophant, the pander to the dishonour of his niece, a criminal participator in Overbury's murder; he was saved from justice by a timely death.

having totally neglected him, and even thwarted his interests); but did him ill offices, not only with the Earl here, but in Scotland, by means of his acquaintance; "in one word," said she, "you oppose yourself "more than any nobleman in England durst do, how "great soever." Bacon resolved "de se servir de "toutes ses pieces, jusqu'au fond de son sac," produced letters which showed that he was not only authorised, but encouraged by Lord Burghley, to communicate with such dangerous and notorious traitors as Parry and others; and sums up thus: "And now, Madam, to the last point, which I "perceive hath not moved you the least. I will first "begin to excuse both Standen and myself by con- "fessing to your Ladyship freely that, on the one "side, at my first coming over, I found nothing but "fair words, which make fools fain, and yet even in "those no offer or hopeful assurance of real kindness, "which I thought I might justly expect at his L. "hands, who had inned my ten years harvest[1] into his "own barn, without any halfpenny charge; and, on the "other side, understood the Earl of Essex his rare vir- "tues and perfections, and the interest he had worthily "in my sovereign's favour, together with his special "noble kindness to my germain brother, whereby he "was no less bounden, and in deep arrears to the "Earl, than I knew myself to be free and beforehand "with my Lord Treasurer; I did extremely long, to "be plain with your Ladyship, to meet with some

[1] That is, the intelligence A. Bacon had sent to his uncle during his residence abroad.

" opportunity to make the honourable Earl know
" how much I honoured and esteemed his excellent
" gifts, and how earnestly I desired to deserve his
" good opinion and love, and to thankfully acknow-
" ledge my brother's debt; presuming always that
" my Lord Treasurer would not only not dislike, but
" recommend and farther this my honest desire and
" purpose; upon which confidence, when Mr. Anthony
" Standen, having certified his L. of his arrival at
" Calais, was left there *à l'abandon*, without receiving
" any counsel or warrant from his L., to his no small
" discouragement and my discredit, upon whose me-
" diation to my Lord Treasurer he wholly relied; I
" made no scruple to address myself to the worthy
" Earl, and to present the gentleman unto him, who,
" first in respect of Her Majesty's service, and then
" for my sake, did revive his spirits, utterly damped
" by my Lord Treasurer's carelessness and contempt
" of him, with a noble welcome of a chain of 100
" marks. This is but a work of supererogation to
" pain myself to satisfy my Lord Treasurer, whom
" Her Majesty hath censured with admiration what
" should make him so loth, yea so backward, to
" advance his nephews, which God knoweth my
" brother and I have found most true, howsoever it
" pleaseth his L. to protest the contrary; namely,
" after his son, Mr. Secretary (whether with his L.
" privity God knows), had denounced a deadly feud
" to an ancient lady, my mother and his aunt,
" swearing that he held me for his mortal enemy,
" and would make me feel it when he could. My

" mother marvelled, when she told me of it, that I did " laugh at it, alleging and expounding to her ladyship " a Gascoin proverb, *Brame d'ase ne monte pas al ciel.* " 'By God,' said Lady Russell, 'but he is no ass.' 'Let " him go for a mule then, Madam,' said I, 'the most " mischievous beast that is;' whereat she laughed " heartily, and seemed to be very glad to understand " such a monstrous insolency, which brought her " into a very good temper, and altered her style quite " from censures and reproaches, to praise of my ex- " temporal apology, and entreated I would set it down " in writing."[1]

Essex, the next day, writes to Anthony Bacon:— " I do exceedingly thank you for your relation, in " which I took so great pleasure as, reading it at my " going to bed, I found it ran in my head all the " night after."

Bacon excused himself from sending a written account to Lady Russell.

The correspondence of Essex was at this period so extensive that he entertained four secretaries, Mr. Reynolds; Mr., afterwards Sir Henry, Wotton[2], a lin-

[1] Bacon MSS. 659. 21.

[2] Youngest son of Sir Robert Wotton, of Boctou Hall, Kent. He was born 1568; travelled from 1589 to 1596; went abroad again on the insurrection of Essex; was diplomatically employed by James I.; returned home after his death; and was the next year, 1625, appointed provost of Eton by Charles I.; he shortly after took holy orders, and died, 1639. He was distinguished for his familiarity with modern languages and literature, wrote an able treatise on architecture, a view of the state of Christendom, many small poems, was a great fisherman, and friend of Isaac Walton.

Henry Cuffe became in 1578, at the age of fifteen, a scholar of Trinity College, Oxon.; he was afterwards fellow of Merton, 1586, Greek professor and proctor; and was executed for his share in the insurrection, 1601.

guist of great experience, who was secretary for Transylvania, Polonia, Italy, and Germany; Mr. Henry Cuffe, a great philosopher; and Mr. Temple, a man not inferior to either; and he even contemplated engaging a fifth, Mr. Jones, a great translator of books, and preferred by Mr. Waad for a special man of languages. This latter appointment excited great jealousy in the mind of Reynolds, who thought he should lose credit if it were known his Lordship had taken a fifth secretary into his service.

During the year 1595, the young Earl of Rutland[1], in whom Lord Essex took great interest, went abroad: Essex wrote him a long letter of advice, and instruction how to draw the greatest advantage from his travels, which is so full of excellent counsel that it may be read with advantage by any body, and is another example of the versatility of talent possessed by him, who, indeed, seems only to have wanted prudence, and the power of self-control, to have won the esteem and respect, as well as the admiration, of mankind.

XCIII.[2]

Essex to Rutland.

My Lord,—I hold it for a principle in the course of intelligence of state, not to discourage men of mean sufficiency

William Temple was admitted of King's College, Cambridge, 1573; and was afterwards elected fellow of that society; he was secretary to Sir Philip Sidney, Mr. Davison, and the Earl of Essex; in 1609, he was appointed provost of Trinity College, Dublin, was knighted, and died, 1626.

[1] Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland; his mother was daughter of Francis Charlton of Apley, Salop. He married the daughter of Lady Essex by Sir Philip Sidney.

[2] Harl. MSS. 4888. 16.

from writing unto me, though I had at the same time very able advertisers, for either they sent me some matter which the other had omitted, or made it clearer by delivering the circumstances; or if they added nothing, yet they confirmed it, which coming single, I might have doubted. This rule I have heretofore prescribed to others, and now give it to myself. Your L. hath many friends who have more leisure to think, and more sufficiency to counsel than myself; yet doth my love to you dedicate these first free hours to study of you and your intended course; in which study, if I find out nothing but that which you have from others, yet I shall perhaps confirm the opinion of wiser than myself.

Your Lordship's purpose is to travel, and your study must be what use to make of your travel. The question is ordinary, and there is to it an ordinary answer, which is, that your L. shall see the beauty of many cities, and learn the language of many nations. Some of these things may serve for ornaments, and all of them for delights; but your L. must look further than these, for the greatest ornament is the inward beauty of the mind; and when you have known as great variety of delights as this world can afford, you will confess that the greatest delight is *sentire se indies fieri meliorem;* to feel that you do every day become more worthy; therefore, your L's. end and scope should be that which in moral philosophy we call *cultura animi*, the tilling and manuring of your own mind. The gifts and excellencies of the mind are the same that those are of the body; beauty, health, and strength. Beauty of the mind is shewed in graceful and acceptable forms, and sweetness of behaviour; and they that have that gift do send them unto whom they deny any thing better contented away, than men of contrary disposition do them to whom they grant. Health consisteth in an unmoveable constancy and a freedom from passions,

which are, indeed, the sickness of the mind. Strength of mind is that active power which maketh us perform good things and great things, as well as health and even-temper of mind keep us from those that are evil and base. All these three are to be sought for, though the greatest part of men have none of these; some have one, and lack the other two; a few have two of them, and lack the third; and almost none have all.

The first way to attain experience in forms or behaviour, is to make the mind expert, for behaviour is but a garment, and it is easy to make a comely garment for a body that is itself well-proportioned; whereas, a deformed body can never be so helped by tailor's art but the counterfeit will appear; and in the form of our mind it is a true rule, that a man may mend his faults with as little labor as cover them. The second way is by imitation, and to that end good choice is to be made of those with whom you converse; therefore your L. should affect their company whom you find to be worthiest, and not partially think them worthy whom you affect. To attain to health of the mind, we must use the same means that we do for the health of our bodies; that is, to make observation what diseases we are aptest to fall into, and to provide against them, for physic hath not more medicines for the diseases of the body, than reason hath preservatives against the passions of the mind. The Stoics were of opinion that there was no way to attain to this even temper of the mind but to be senseless, and so they sold their goods to ransom themselves from their evils; but not only Divinity, our schoolmistress, doth teach us the effect of grace, but even Philosophy, her handmaid, doth condemn our want of care and industry if we do not win very much upon ourselves. To prove which I will only use one instance: there is nothing in nature more general or more strong than the fear of death, and to a natural man there is nothing

seems more impossible than to resolve against death. But both martyrs for religion, heathens for glory, some for love of their country, others for affection to one special person, have encountered death without fear, and suffered it without shew of alteration; and therefore, if many have conquered passion's chiefest and strongest fortress, it is lack of constancy in the undertaker that getteth not an absolute victory. To set down ways how a man shall attain to the active power, which, in this place, I call strength of mind, is much harder than to give rules for the other two; for behaviour, or good forms, may be gotten by education, and health, or even-temper of the mind, by observation. But if there be not in nature some procurer to this active strength, it can never be obtained by industry, for the virtues which are proper unto it are liberality or magnificence, and fortitude or magnanimity, and some are by nature so covetous or cowardly, as it is in vain to seek to enlarge or enflame their minds, as to go about to plough the rock. But where these active virtues are but budding, they must be ripened by clearness of judgment, and customs of well-doing. Clearness of judgment makes men liberal, for it teacheth to esteem the goods of fortune not for themselves, for so they are but jailors to them for their use, where we are in truth lords over them; and it makes us know that it is *beatius dare quod accipere*, the one being a badge of sovereignty, the other of subjection. Also it leadeth us to fortitude, for it teacheth us that we should not too much prize life which we cannot keep, nor fear death which we cannot shun; that he that dies nobly lives for ever, and he that lives in fear dies continually; that pain and danger be great only by opinion, and that in truth nothing is fearful but fear itself; that custom makes the thing used natural as it were to the user. I shall not need to prove these two things, since we see by experience it holds true in all things, but yet those that give with judg-

ment are not only encouraged to be liberal by the return of thankfulness from those to whom they give, but find in the very exercise of that virtue a delight to do good. And if custom be strong to confirm any one virtue more than another, it is the virtue of fortitude, for it makes us triumph over the fear which we have conquered, and anew to challenge danger which happily we have encountered, and hold more dear the reputation of honor which we have encreased.

I have hitherto set down what desire, or what wish, I would have your L. to take into your mind, that is to make you an expert man, and what are the general helps which all men may use which have the said desire; I will now move your L. to consider what helps your travel may give you.

First, when you see infinite variety of behaviour and manners of men, you may chuse and imitate the best; when you see new delights which you never knew, and have passions stirred in you which before you never felt, you shall both know what disease your mind is aptest to fall into, and what the things are that breed that disease; when you come into armies, or places where you see any thing of wars, as I would wish you to see them before your L. returns, you shall both confirm your courage, and be made more fit for true fortitude, which is given to man by nature, but must spring out of the discourse of reason; and lastly, in your travel you shall have great help to attain to knowledge, which is not only the excellentest thing in man, but the very excellency of man. In manners or behaviour, your L. must not be caught with novelty, which is pleasing to young men; nor infected with custom, which makes us keep our own ill graces, and participate of those we see every day; nor given to affection, a general fault of most of our English travellers, which is both displeasing and ridiculous. In dis-

covering your passions and meeting with them, give not way to yourself, nor dispense with yourself in little, though resolving to conquer yourself in great; for the same stream that may be stopped with one man's hand at the spring head, may drown whole armies of men when it hath run long. In your being in the wars, think it better at the first to do a great deal too much than any thing too little; for a young man's, especially a stranger's, first actions are looked upon, and reputation once gotten is easily kept, but an evil impression conceived at the first is not quickly removed. The last thing that I am to speak of, but the first that you are to seek, is knowledge. To praise knowledge, or to persuade your L. to the love of it, I shall not need to use many words; I will only say, that, where that wants, man is void of all good; without it there can be no fortitude, for all other darings come of fury, and fury is a passion, and passions ever turn into their contraries; and therefore the most furious men, when their first blaze is spent, be commonly the most fearful; without it there can be no liberality, for giving is but want of audacity to deny, or of discretion to prize; without it there can be no justice, for giving to a man that which is his own is but chance, or want of a corrupter or seducer; without it there can be no constancy or patience, for suffering is but dulness or senselessness; without it there can be no temperance, for we shall restrain ourselves from good as well as from evil, for that he that cannot discern cannot elect or chuse; nay, without it there can be no true religion, all other devotion being but blind zeal, which is as strong in heresy as truth. To reckon up all the parts of knowledge, and to shew the way to attain to every part, it is a work too great for me at any time, and too long to discourse of at this; therefore I will only speak of such knowledge as your L. should have desire to seek, and shall have means to compass; I forbear also to speak of Divine knowledge, which must

direct your faith, both because I find my own constancy insufficiency, and because I hope your L. doth still nourish the seeds of religion which, during your education at Cambridge, were sown in you. I will only say this, as the irresolute man can never perform any action well, so he that is not resolved in soul and conscience, can never be resolved in any thing else; but that civil knowledge, which will make you do well by yourself, and do good unto others, must be sought by study, by conference, and by observation. Before I persuade you to study, I must look to answer an argument drawn from the nobility of all places in the world, which now is utterly unlearned, if it be not some very few, and an authority of an English proverb, made in respect of learning that the greatest were not commonly the wisest men. The first I answer, that this want of learning hath been in good countries ruined by civil wars, or in states corrupted through wealth or too long peace; in the one sort men's wits were employed in their necessary defence, in the other drowned in the study of the arts and luxuries. But in all flourishing states learning hath alway flourished. If it seem strange that I account no state flourishing but that where there is neither civil wars nor hath had too long peace, I answer, that politic bodies are like to natural bodies, and must as well have some exercise to spend their humors, as be kept from too violent or continual, which spend their best spirits. The proverb I take to be made when the nobility of England brought up their sons as they entered their whelps, and thought them wise enough if they could chase their deer. I answer by another proverb made by a wise man, *Scientia non habet inimicum præter ignorantem.* All men that live well, do it by book or by example, and in book learning your L. shall find, in what course soever you propound unto yourself, rules prescribed by the wisest men, and examples left by the wisest men that have lived before us. Therefore knowledge is to be

sought by your private study; and opportunity you shall have to study, if you do not often remove from place to place, but stand some time and reside in the best. In the course of your L.'s study and choice of your books, you must first seek to have the grounds of learning, which are the liberal arts, for without them you shall neither gather other knowledge easily, nor make use of that you have; and then use studies of delight but sometimes for recreation, and neither drown yourself in them, nor omit those studies whereof you are to have continual use. Above all other books be conversant in the Histories, for they will best instruct you in matter, moral, military, and politic, by which, and in which, you must ripen and settle your judgment. In your study you are to seek for two things: the first, to conceive or understand; the second, to lay up or remember; for as the philosopher said, *discere est tanquam recordari;* to help you to conceive, you will do well in those things in which you are to draw yourself to read with somebody that may give you help, and to that end you must either carry over with you some good general scholar, or make some abode in the universities abroad, where you may hear the professions in every sort; to help you to remember, you must use writing, or meditation, or both; by writing I mean making of notes and abridgments of that which you would remember. I make conference the second help to knowledge in order, though I have found it the first and greatest in profiting, and I have so placed them because he that hath not studied knows not what to doubt nor what to ask: but when the little I had learned had taught me to find out mine own emptiness, I profited more by some expert man in half a day's conference, than by myself in a month's study. To profit much by conference, you must first chuse to confer with expert men, I mean expert in that which you desire to know; next with many, for expert men will be of sundry and contrary opinions, and every one

will make his own probable, so as if you hear but one, you shall know in all questions but one opinion; whereas by hearing many, you shall, by seeing the reason of one, confute the reason of another, and be able to judge of the truth. Besides, there is no man that is expert in all things, but every great scholar is expert in some one, so as your wit shall be wetted conversing with great wits, and you shall have the quintessence of every one of theirs. In conference be neither superstitious, not believing all you hear, whatsoever your opinion of the man that delivereth it; nor too desirous to contradict; for of the first grows a facility to be led into all kinds of error, since you shall ever think that he that knows all that you know and something more, hath infinite knowledge, because you cannot sound or measure it; of the second grows such a carping humor, as you shall without reason censure all men, and want reason to censure yourself. I do conclude this point of conference with this advice, that your L. shall rather go a hundred miles to speak with a wise man, than five to see a fair town.

The third way to obtain knowledge is observation, and not long life or seeing much, because, as he that rides a way often, and takes no marks, or care, or notes, to direct him if he come to the same again, or to make him know where he is if he come unto it, shall never prove good guide; so he that lives long and sees much, but observes nothing, shall never prove a wise man. The use of observation is in noting the coherence of causes and effects, counsels and successes, and the proportion and likeness between nature and nature, force and force, action and action, state and state, time past and time present. The philosophers did think that all knowledge doth much depend on the knowledge of causes, as he said, *id demum scimus, cujus causam scimus;* and, therefore, a private man cannot prove so great a soldier as he that commands an army, nor so great a politique as he that rules

a state, or chief minister of state, because the one sees only the events and knows not the causes, the other makes the causes that govern the events. The observation of proportion or likeness between one person, or one thing, and another, makes nothing without example, nor nothing new; and, although *exempla illustrant non probant*, examples may make things plain that are not proved, but prove not themselves; yet, when circumstances agree, and proportion is kept, that which is probable in one case is probable in a thousand, and that which is reason once is reason ever.

Your L. now seeing that the end of science, conference, and observation, is knowledge; you must know, also, that the end of knowledge is clearness and strength of judgment, and not ostentation nor ability of discourse, which I do the rather put your L. in mind of, because the most of the noblemen and gentlemen of our time have no other use of their learning but in table talk; and the reason is because they, before setting down their journey, and ere they attain to it, they rest, and travel not so far as they should; but God knows they have gotten little that have only this discoursing gift, for though, like empty casks, they sound loud when a man knocks upon their outside, yet, if you pierce into them, you shall find them full of nothing but wind. This rule holds, not only in knowledge, or in the virtue of knowledge, or in the virtue of prudence, but in all other virtues; that is, that we should both seek and love virtue for itself, and not for praise; for, as one said, *turpe est proco ancillam sollicitare est autem virtutis ancilla laus*, it is a shame for him that wooes the mistress to court the maid, for praise is the handmaid of virtue.

I will here break off, for I have both exceeded the convenient length of a letter, and come short of such a discourse as the subject doth deserve. Your L. may, perhaps, find in this paper many things superfluous, most things imperfect

and lame; I will, as well as I can, supply upon a second advertisement, if you call me to account. What confusion soever you find in my order or method, is not only my fault, whose wits are confounded with too much business, but the fault of this season, this being written in Christmas, in which confusion and disorder hath, by tradition, not only been winked at, but warranted. If there be but any one thing that your L. may make use of, I think my pains well bestowed in all; and how weak soever my counsels be, my wishes shall be as strong as any man's for your L. happiness. And so I rest, your L. very affectionate Cousin and loving friend,

R. ESSEX.

Greenwich, Jan. 4.

CHAPTER XII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

DOUBTS AND DELIBERATIONS ABOUT PROCEEDING AGAINST SPAIN. —THE ARCHDUKE TAKES CALAIS. — ESSEX SENT TO RELIEVE CALAIS, ARRIVES TOO LATE. — AN EXPEDITION PLANNED TO THE COAST OF SPAIN. — BOUILLON, WHO IS SENT OVER TO ENDEAVOUR TO NEGOTIATE A TREATY, CASTS DOUBTS INTO THE MIND OF ELIZABETH. — ANTONIO PEREZ TIRES ANTHONY BACON, WHO RETIRES TO TWICKENHAM TO AVOID HIM. — HE RETURNS TO FRANCE WITH BOUILLON. — ELIZABETH'S HESITATION ABOUT ALLOWING THE EARL TO GO. — ESSEX COMBATS THE OBJECTIONS. — THEY ARE AT LENGTH OVERCOME. — THE QUEEN'S FAREWELL LETTER AND PRAYER. — SIR ROBERT CECYLL'S FRIENDLY LETTERS TO ESSEX. — ESSEX' LETTER TO THE COUNCIL, CONTAINING AN OUTLINE OF HIS PLAN OF ATTACKING SPAIN.

THE first months of the year 1596 were occupied in considering the means of opposing Spain, whose hostile preparations caused great excitement, breeding "incredible fears in the minds of most men." These fears were increased by the news that the expedition of Hawkins and Drake[1] against the Spanish West Indies had failed, and both those commanders had died.

Charles Lord Howard, High Admiral, strongly urged the policy of attacking the Spaniards in their

[1] They had been sent with twenty-six ships against the Spanish West Indies, in September, 1595, with a body of troops embarked under command of Sir Thomas Baskerville.

own ports; a measure which, though ardently supported by Essex, was so repugnant to the cautious policy of the old Treasurer, that it is very doubtful how the Queen would have decided, had not the Cardinal Archduke suddenly entered France and laid siege to Calais, at the end of March. The moment for action must certainly have appeared to be come, even for the most pacific minded of Elizabeth's advisers, when their deliberations in council were disturbed by the distant booming of the Spanish artillery; for Camden informs us that the bombardment of Calais was distinctly heard at Greenwich. Levies were hastily ordered, in the city and country; Essex was sent down to Dover to take command of the force for the relief of Calais, but all too late; the town surrendered on the 7th April, the garrison retired into the citadel and defended it until the 10th, on which day it was carried by assault. It seems by the letters which follow, that there was ample time for Essex[1] to have made such a diversion as, supported by Henry IV., who was at or near Boulogne, would have forced the Cardinal to raise the siege. But his hands were tied; Elizabeth still wanted to make conditions which the French envoys had no power to enter into; the valuable hours were lost, and the Queen saw the Spaniards in possession of the nearest point of foreign coast to our island, while she was taxed by the French with raising hopes of assistance, which she never intended to fulfil.

[1] His commission, however, as "our Lieutenant, Lord Captain General and Governor of our said army," was only dated 13th April.

No. XCIV.[1]

Essex to Sir Anthony Shirley.

Cousin,—The news of the siege of Calais hath made me be posted down to this place, whence I have sent Sir Coniers Clifford to see whether he can go in, and see the state of the town; and I have also sent a gentleman to Bullen to see what doth become of the King and of his army, and what means they do propose on that side to succour Calais. I do look for answer from both places by to-morrow morning, and on Monday will return to Greenwich, from whence I will send you some money the next day, for if I had had but one hour more of stay in London I would have furnished you, but upon Wednesday you shall hear from me at the furthest.

I pray you send me word both here and to the court in what forwardness you are, for my stay here is uncertain. And so, wishing to you as to myself, I rest your most affectionate Cousin,

Dover, 3rd April. ESSEX.

Superscribed.

For Her Majesty's affairs. To my very loving Cousin, Sir Anthony Shirley, at Southampton. Wheresoever this letter is brought all along the coast, let the officer of the town send it away with all speed.

ESSEX.

[1] Bacon MSS. 656. 267. Sir A. Shirley, to whom this letter was written, was son of Sir Thomas Shirley, of Wiston, Sussex. He attached himself to the Earl of Essex, and after his death became celebrated by his adventures. He travelled in Persia, entered into the service of foreign princes, and was made a Count of the Empire.

No. XCV.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I remember how much I saw your L. afflicted for the alteration of the Queen's former order to succour Calais, and I doubt not but your L. is as much grieved that her army should be levied, and we sent down; and yet, by an instruction, our hands bound behind us. I am he whom the Queen commanded by letter to the Count St. Pol, to promise succour directly without condition. I only am called upon from the French King to keep promise. I am named to the service, and I lie here to be witness that the citadel doth hold out well, and is only lost for our not keeping troth. My letter to the Count St. Pol is sent in to Vedazant by the King, when the last succours did enter; therefore, your L. will pardon me if I do passionately importune for a sound resolution. If the first stay had not been, the citadel had been relieved ere this, and what it will do now, upon this second stay, when our first promises are discredited, your L. shall see shortly, and I do fear already. I beseech your L. keep in your favour your L. humble poor friend, that will do you all the service he can.

Dover, this 14th April, 1596. ESSEX.

No. XCVI.[2]

Henry IV. to Essex.

Mon Cousin,—L'on me vient d'apporter la triste nouvelle de la perte de la citadelle de Calais, qui a été prise d'assaut; dont je ressens un extrême déplaisir. Je ferai, demain, passer à vous, mon Cousin le Duc de Bouillon, pour conférer avec vous sur cet accident; je vous prie de l'attendre et ne

[1] Lansd. MSS. 82. 1. [2] Egerton, 405.

faire cependant rien débarquer de ce qui est embarqué. Vous priant de m'aimer toujours, je prie Dieu vous avoir dans sa sainte garde. De Boulogne, ce 23 Avril, 1596, à dix heures du soir.

HENRY.

Contresigné, Forget.

The capture of Calais by the Spaniards decided the Queen to adopt the plan of the Lord Admiral; for the chances of success which a new Armada might have, were greatly increased by their possession of a port in the narrow seas, and preparations were immediately made for that expedition which is known by the name of the Cales or Cadiz voyage.

While Essex was yet at Dover, the Duke of Bouillon, accompanied by Antonio Perez, was sent over by Henry with full powers to conclude an offensive and defensive treaty with Elizabeth; he was desirous to have conference with Essex at Dover, whom he hoped to dissuade from the Spanish expedition, but Essex, to avoid him, went to sea in the Rainbow with the Lord Admiral and Lord Mountjoy. It appears, however, that Bouillon succeeded in awakening an opposition to the voyage, perhaps even in the Queen's breast, for she often declared her intention of revoking the commission of the generals; at other times she would allow a part of the fleet only to go. Nevertheless, the preparations were continued, the fleet was sent round to Plymouth, whither Essex proceeded to marshal and discipline his army. This short note, which was written on his journey, and

another on his arrival at Plymouth, will testify to his unabated zeal and activity.

No. XCVII.[1]

Essex to Cecyll.

Sir,—Till I find weariness I must go on, and then I will favor myself. But yet by the news I have from my people at Plymouth, I know I cannot come too soon. I send you Capt. Nich. Baskerville's letter, of which Her Majesty and their LL. may judge whether it be not time to draw our swords. I will send him to you as soon as I can meet with him, and so I rest, your very assured friend,

At Andover, the 27th April, 1596, at 4 in the morning. R. E.

Captain Baskerville's letter states his arrival at Falmouth, having met some Flemish merchantships from Cadiz, from which he obtained intelligence that a very great fleet was preparing at Ferrol and the Groyne.[2]

No. XCVIII.[3]

Essex to Cecyll.

Sir,—I am come hither at last, and I think with more diligence than this packet will go to you. I do ask respite

[1] S. P. O. "Spain." The rate at which expresses travelled is frequently made known to us by the hours of arrival at each post being noted on the letter. This one bears the following:

Arrived at Basingstoke, ¾ after 6.
„ Hartford Bridge, ½ after 8.
„ Staines, 12 noon.

[2] Corunna was then called the Groyne.

[3] S. P. O. "Spain."

for a day or two, for writing anything of the state of our army, for I must both see it and rest my brains and my bones, before I dare give account; I will afterwards give my Lord Treasurer true information of our actions and state here. In the meantime I hope you will excuse me to him.

I pray you hasten away Sir Walter Ralegh, with the rearguard of the fleet, and hasten away the apparel, which I hope is shipped, and for which Reynolds, my secretary, doth solicit; but, above all things, in all your letters, let me know how Her Majesty doth. And so I rest your very kind friend,

ESSEX.

I shall be sorry if the Queen send no man down to view the fair troops I will shew here, and the ordering of them.

I pray you send my letters to my L. Admiral to Dover, or else after him to sea, by the first that goes.

Plymouth, 28th of April.

But a few days elapsed after Essex had arrived at Plymouth, when his secretary, Mr. Reynolds, wrote to him that the Duke of Bouillon and Antonio Perez, made great complaints of his deserting, when he ought to have assisted, them. In his reply, he tells Reynolds that they do wrong to make such charges against him; "but they are unquiet hearted, and know "not our Queen and State as well as I do; for they "feed the Queen in her irresolution, wherein, though "they first undo me, they shall next undo themselves, "for the Queen wrangles with our action for no "cause but because it is in hand. If this force were "going to France, she would then fear as much the "issue there as she doth in our intended journey. I

"know I shall never do her service but against her "will, and since I have racked my wits to get this "commission, and my means to carry that which "should do the feat, as they say, I will, against the "hair, go through with it, or, of a general, become "a monk upon an hour's warning."[1] Such was Essex's appreciation of his mistress' character, and doubtless a very true one.

Antonio Perez, who, on account of his friendship with Essex, had been sent with Bouillon, was extremely mortified at the absence and silence of the Earl, and poured reiterated complaints into the ear of Anthony Bacon; who became at length so weary of him, that, retiring to his brother's house at Twickenham, he wrote to Essex.

No. XCIX.[2]

Anthony Bacon to Essex.

My special good Lord, — My patience being at the last on charge, and, as I may say to your Lordship, almost turned into just anger, to see that my double torment, both of stone and gout, could not obtain me the privilege of rest at Signor Perez, his hands; but that I must daily hear my dear Lord's honor hammered upon both by him and the French, and serve, as it were, hourly, instead of a cistern, to receive his Spanish exclamations, and scalding plaints; I had no other sanctuary but to retire myself hither to my brother's pleasant lodge and fine designed garden, where, with your leave and liking, I would propose to be as private as I may, namely,

[1] Bacon MSS. 657. 93. [2] Ibid. 657. 9.

till the D. of Bouillon and Signor Perez, his departure, which last, I doubt not, but that my absence will haste, if the letter which I have received this morning from my L. for him, by my man Jacques, who came in post, mar not all my former painful endeavour to get him well gone.

A treaty was concluded on the 10th May, and shortly after the Duke of Bouillon, accompanied by Perez, returned into France. The latter was completely out of Anthony Bacon's good graces, for he writes to Francis, "Well, at the last, he is gone; God "send him fair wind and weather for his passage, "and me but the tithe of the thanks which I have "deserved, for I dare assure you that, without my "watchfulness and painful patience, he would have "chanced upon some blot whereby to have made an "after game."[1]

A letter of Essex to Mr. Reynolds, in which he desires him to apologize to all his friends for his shortcomings in letter writing, and in which he describes his occupations, comes next in order.

No. C.[2]

Essex to E. Reynolds.

Reynolds, — I know I am condemned by all my friends that I write either short letters or none at all to them. But I must protest for my excuse, that I am overwhelmed with the task that I have here, which, rather than I will not perform, I will not only lose my recreation of entertaining my friends, but my very meat and sleep.

[1] Bacon MSS. 657. 8. [2] Ibid. 657. 92.

I am busied in bringing all this chaos into order; in setting down every man's rank and degree, that those under me may not fall by the ears for precedence and place, as in other armies hath been seen. I am setting down the parts, and bounds, and limits of every man's office, that none may plead ignorance if he do not his duty, nor none encroach upon his fellows. I am also in hand with making of orders for the well governing of the whole army, and, therefore, I have my hands full.

But I will, when these great labours are overcome, make them amends for my silence now. In the meantime do you plead those excuses for me, and especially to worthy Sir Edw. Dier, to whom I send my best wishes. And so rest your loving master,

Plymouth, this 8th May. ESSEX.

We have seen Essex urging Cecyll to send off Sir Walter Ralegh: Anthony Bacon says, "Sir W. Ra-"legh's slackness and stay by the way is not thought "to be upon sloth or negligence, but upon pregnant "design, which will be brought forth very shortly, "and found to be according to the French proverb, "*filz ou fille.*"[1] On the 16th May, the Queen wrote to the two Lord Generals, desiring them to put the expedition under the command of some inferior officers, and to return to Court; they being so dear unto her, and such persons of note, as she could not allow of their going themselves.

Edward Reynolds says, that "the Queen is daily "in change of humor about my Lord's voyage, and "yesterday almost resolute to stay it, using very

[1] Bacon MSS. 657. 8.

" hard terms of my Lord's wilfulness; insomuch as " the wisest was fain to use his wisest reasons and " arguments to appease and satisfy her."[1]

It is very likely that Sir Walter Ralegh's delay might have been connected with the hope of the absolute recal, at one time intended, of the Lord Admiral and Essex, and of the expedition being placed under his direction. He had not yet been restored to favour, which he had forfeited by an intrigue with Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's maids of honour.

The objections to the expedition were urgently combated by Essex. In a letter to the LL. of the Council on the subject he says, " Because my words " shall not offend Her Majesty, I am resolved never " to use arguments to persuade or defend our journey, " but leave it to Her Majesty's choice whether she " will break it, or have us proceed. I have set down " certain questions, for all the idle discoursers and " envious crossers to answer. What shall be done " with the 30,000*l.* worth of victuals of Her Majesty " already provided? What shall become of the " preparations of the city and coasters, and how it " may be hoped for, that, upon the like summons, " they will show the like readiness, since they shall " see that our alarms are but false, and our journies " but dreams? What shall my L. Admiral and I " do with the victuals we have provided for ourselves " and our companions for five months? What shall

[1] Bacon MSS. 657. 34.

" be pretended for this sudden change of counsel? " What shall be done to keep France from making " peace with Spain, when we neither assist them " against invasion there, nor prevent invasions of " our own countries; but like men, that are very " strong in suffering, stand still, and bear off all " with head and shoulders? How shall we prevent " him sending of forces to Ireland? What may the " insolent rebels of Ireland think when they both " find themselves prospering, and see all our pre- " parations but smoke, and our threatenings prove " but wind?" Again, "if it be said that Her Ma- " jesty may seem to do somewhat and send her fleet, " but stay her army, I am persuaded that though " some ignorant soul both of sea-actions and of the " wars, may by the fireside make such a proposition, " yet there cannot any man be found so vain that " will undertake the action. But if there be, I would " ask him where he would save himself, or how he " will get a post, if he have not a land force to " command the shore? Next, how he will distress " or burn the maritimes of Spain, if he go not to " them where they are, or how he dare go into them, " or shall be able to take such forts, as they make " for their defences in the harbours?"[1]

At length the Queen's reluctance to part with him was overcome, and Mr. Fulke Greville[2] was sent down

[1] Birch, ii. 8.

[2] Of Campden, Gloucestershire, a friend of Essex, created by James I. Lord Brooke of Beauchamp's Court, with a grant of the castle of Warwick, then in ruins: he was a Knight of the Bath; and was murdered in his own house, 1628; unmarried.

to Plymouth with her farewell letter to Essex, and a despatch from Sir Robert Cecyll, containing the Queen's private meditation or prayer for the present expedition, addressed to the Lords Generals of the army. To Essex she said, "I make this humble bill "of requests to Him that all makes and does, that "with his benign hand He will shadow you so, as all "harm may light beside you, and all that may be "best hap to your share; that your return may "make you better, and me gladder. Let your com- "panion, my most faithful Charles, be sure that his "name is not left out in this petition. God bless you "both, as I would be if I were there, which, whether "I wish or not, he alone doth know."[1] For once Queen Elizabeth has made show of a little real feeling! The prayer was as follows:—

Most omnipotent and guider of all our world's mass, that only searchest and fathomest the bottoms of all hearts and conceits, and in them seest the true original of all actions intended: Thou that by thy foresight dost truly discern how no malice or revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greediness of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now set-out army, but a heedful care and wary watch that no neglect of foes, nor oversurety of harm, might breed either danger to us or glory to them. These being the grounds, Thou that diddest inspire the mind, we humbly beseech, with bended knees, prosper the work; and with the best forewinds guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the return the advancement of thy fame, and surety to the realm, with the least loss of English blood. To these devout petitions, Lord, give Thou thy blessed grant! Amen.

[1] S. P. O.

Here follow two letters from Sir Robert Cecyll to Essex, written just before the departure of the expédition, of which the tone is remarkably friendly; and showing that Cecyll either was at that time on very good terms with Essex, or that his joy at the absence of the Earl made him appear to be so; whatever the cause may be, the cold little Secretary becomes actually playful. Another letter, a farewell to Essex from Anthony Bacon, follows.

No. CI.[1]

Cecyll to Essex.

My good Lord,— Her Majesty at this time is loth to write, and wished rather to hear from you than to send to you; she sendeth this gentleman to be a relater of your setting sail, and how you go out. For the matter of the fleet to come forth, I have fresh advertisements from Bruxelles, that the King pays the Cardinal, with constant asseveration, that whatsoever the merchants furnish shall be paid them without fail out of the fleet, which he expects in the fine of September, or mid October. The Lord of Heaven send it you, and if you bring home something, we shall thank you, but bring home yourself, and take my word we will not chide you. I will send you the Herald's coat, and a brave one—no painted taffeta—but a rich coat: I know it can never be sent in a braver cause, nor from a worthier general. I do remain eternally,

Yours affectionately,
R. CECYLL.

I will do all in me to keep the Parliament from beginning till you may be returned; for before the xii Oct. I have told

[1] S. P. O. May, 1596.

the Queen will be too soon. It cannot be the worse for your friends, and I am resolved, in my soul, it shall not be for me, whom no devise nor humor shall make a changeling.

The Queen says, because you are poor, she sends you five shillings, which Ned Denny gave her and Matthias, for playing on the three lutes.

Sir R. Cross desires me to let you know, that I opened again mine own letter.

No. CII.[1]

Cecyll to Essex.

My Lord, — I can now say little but that which will be tedious to you, being, I hope, by this time departed, where God Almighty bless your endeavours. Sir Anthony Shirley, his instructions and letter, were read by the Queen, and he himself presented by my Lord Admiral and me, used with great favour, both in the privy and drawing chambers. The long letter the Queen keeps, and, though I have cast out words to have it into my hands, yet she doth defer it, and saith there be many things in it further considerable; but of the later two leaves she hath consulted and resolved with the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, and myself, and hath accordingly directed you by her royal hand. Thus do you believe, I beseech you, my good Lord, that if in great things I could as well serve you as in toys, my endeavours should follow you with like affection; and, therefore, now do I avoid furthermore troubling you, when better thoughts, I am sure, do possess you. Your Lordship's to command affectionately,

R. CECYLL.

Our Parliament beginneth now, by appointment, the 8th Nov., because the term may be somewhat spent before the

[1] S. P. O. June, 1596.

session; longer it should have been deferred if I could have done it, but so far have I laboured, and I hope long enough.

No. CIII.[1]

Essex to Anthony Bacon.

Sir,—I have answered Signor Perez letter to himself, and the Duke of Bouillon's complaint in a letter to Edward Reynolds, which I pray you read over. I will desire Signor Bassadonna to hold me excused until the next messenger. For yourself, I pray you believe that, though your mind, which so tenderly weigheth my danger, be very dear unto me, yet, for my sake, you must be confident, for if I be not tied by the hand, I know God hath a great work to work by me. I thank God I see my way both smooth and certain, and I will make all the world see I understand myself. Farewell, worthy Mr. Bacon, and know that though I entertain you here with short letters, yet I will send you from sea papers that shall remain as tables of my honest desires, and pledges of my love to you; from your true and best wishing friend.

Plymouth, this 20th May, 1596. ESSEX.

On the 31st May, Essex wrote to Reynolds by Fulke Greville, enclosing him a despatch to the Lords of the Council, which he desired him not to deliver until the wind had so served for at least a week, that he might expect them to have reached Spain; and then to deliver it at such a time as he might find the whole Council sitting. This letter was written "while weighing anchor."

The contents deserve notice: they show that Essex had matured a plan of attack on Spain, such as he in

[1] Bacon MSS. 657. 89.

vain endeavoured to carry out, and which he here lays open to the Council: he proposes to intercept the treasure fleet, to command the coast, and to "leave a thorn sticking in his side:" which he would have done by retaining Cadiz, by cruising for the homeward-bound fleet, and, by keeping the sea, commanding the coast of Spain and Portugal, in all of which aims, as we shall see, he was overruled by the Council of war, the most part of whom had no plan save that of plunder.

No. CIV.[1]

Essex to the Lords of the Council.

My very good LL.—Having taken order for all things that belong to our land forces, and staying only till the ships be ready to take in our soldiers, I am come aboard as well to draw other men, by example, to leave the shore, as to have time and leisure to ask account of myself, what other duties I have to do, besides the governing of these troops, and the using of them to good purpose. In my meditations, as I first study to please my most gracious Sovereign, as well as to serve her, so my next care is to leave your LL. well satisfied of my past carriage, since I was nominated to this service, and apt to make favourable construction of what I shall do hereafter. In my past carriage I will neither plead merit, nor excuse my imperfections, for whatsoever I shall be able to do, I know it to be less than I owe; and, besides my faults, my very faith and zeal, which are the best things in me, do make me commit errors. But I would fain approve the matter itself of undertaking this service to have been good,

[1] S. P. O. It is endorsed, "Received and laid before the Council, the 13th June, 1596."

howsoever my forms have been erroneous, or, at least, my intent and my end unblamable, though my judgment were faulty. Your LL. know it hath been the wisdom of all times, rather to attempt and do something in another country than to attend an enemy, and be in danger and suffer much in our own. And if this rule, among the ancients, was generally held true, it might be better allowed of us in particular cases, where a state, little in territory, not extraordinarily rich, and defended only with itself, shall have to do with another state that hath many and ample dominions, the treasure of the Indies, and all the mercenaries of Christendom to serve it; for we have, as the Athenians had with that ancient usurping Philip, *prælium facile, bellum difficile,* therefore it is our disadvantage to draw the war into length. And if any man in this kingdom should be allowed to persuade to prevention, he might be one that saw the Spaniard at home, apprehend an invasion with greater terror than he maketh it abroad, and that was a witness how a handful of men, neither armed, victualled, nor ordered as they should be, landed, marched, and had done what they listed, if either the ships had come up, or they had any provision to make a hole in a wall, or to break open a gate. But though the counsel be good for some states, or perhaps for others at some times, yet the opportunities must be watched, and it must appear that this is it which is now taken. The opportunity for such services, I take to be, when either the enemy may receive the most hurt, or when he is likeliest to attempt against us if he be not impeached. The hurt that our state should seek to do him, is to intercept his treasure, whereby we shall cut his sinews, and make war upon him with his own money, and to beat him, or at least discontinue him by sea, whereby Her Majesty shall be both secured from his invasions, and become mistress of the sea, which is the greatness that the queen of an island should most aspire unto. In matter of profit, we

may this journey much hurt him, and benefit ourselves; for he hath, as it is agreed on by all men, more carracks to come home now than any year before; besides many other good advantages which will be offered if we command his coast; and to give him a blow or discountenance him by sea, now is the time, when he hath declared his ambition to command the seas, and yet so divided his forces, some appointed to be set out, and yet scant in readiness; others on the point of coming home, and yet not fit to defend themselves, if either they be met at the sea, or found in harbour, and all so dispersed in several places, as if at any time we might do good that way, it is now. And whether he will make war upon us if we let him alone, let his solicitations, offers, and gifts, to the rebels of Ireland, his besieging of Calais, and winning those parts of France that front upon us, and his strengthening himself by sea by so many means, let those things, I say, tell us. So as if at any time we will allow the counsel of prevention to be reasonable, we must confess it now to be opportune.

But whatsoever the counsel were, I am not to be charged with it, for as I was not the contriver of the project, so if I had refused to have joined with him that did invite me to it, I should have been thought both incompatible and backward in Her Majesty's service. I say not this for that I think the action such, as it were disadvantage to be thought the projector of it; but I say, and say truly, that my L. Admiral devised it, presented it to Her Majesty, and had as well Her Maj.'s approbation, and the assent of such of your LL. as were acquainted with it, as my promise to join with him. One thing I confess, I above all men am to be charged withal, that is, that when Her Maj., the city of London, the coast and the Low Countries charges was past, the men levied and marching to the rendezvous, that I could not see how with Her Maj.'s honor and safety the journey might be broken; wherein, though I should have been carried only with passion,

yet I pray your LL. to consider who that had in any case been named to such an action throughout Christendom, and engaged in it as much as I was worth, and being the instrument of drawing more voluntary men of their own charge, than ever were seen these many years — who, I say, would not have been so affected? But far be it from me, in an action of this importance, to weigh myself, or my particular fortune, any thing in the world. I beseech your LL. to remember that I was from time to time warranted by all your opinions delivered both among yourselves and to Her Maj., which ties you all to allow the counsel. And, that being granted, your LL. will call that zeal that makes a man constant in a good counsel, that would be passion in an evil or a doubtful. I confess Her Maj. most graciously affords us recompense for all our charges and losses; but my LL., I pray your LL. to consider how many things at once I should have sold for money: I will leave mine own reputation as too small a matter to be mentioned; but I should have sold the honor of Her Maj., the safety of her state, the contentment of her confederate, the fortune and hope of many of my poor friends and countrymen, and the possibility of giving a blow to that enemy, that ought ever to be hateful to all true English hearts; I should have sold all this for private profit; therefore, though I ask pardon of Her Majesty, and pray your LL. to mediate it for me, that I was carried by this zeal so fast, as I forgot those reverend forms that I should have used, yet I had rather have had my heart out of my body, than this zeal out of my heart.

And now as I have laid before your LL. my past carriage and entering into this action, so I beseech your LL. give me leave to prepare you to a favorable construction of that which I shall do hereafter. In which suit, I am resolved neither to plead the hazarding of life, nor spending of my substance in a public service, to the end that I might make

your LL. that are public persons, more favourable judges, but will confess I receive so much favour and honor by this trust and employment, as when I have done all I can, I shall still be behind hand. This suit only will I make, that your LL. will neither have too great an expectation of our actions, nor too little; lest all we do seem either nothing, or to be done by chance. I know we must be tied to do no more than shall be for Her Majesty's service, nor no less. In which straight way, although it be hard for so weak a man as myself to walk upright, yet the example of our raw soldiers may comfort an insufficient general, for they, till they grow perfect in all their orders and motions, are so afraid to be out, and with continual heedfulness observe both themselves and those near them, as they do keep almost as good order at the first as ever after. I am sure I am as distrustful of myself as they, and because I have more sense of my duty, I shall be more industrious: for sea services, the judgment of my honorable companion shall be my compass; and, for land, his assent, and the advice of those Her Maj. hath named as councillors at war, shall be my warranties.

It will be honor to Her Maj., and a great assurance to her estate, if we either bring some wealth, or give the King of Spain a blow by sea: but, to have made a continual diversion, and to have left, as it were, a thorn sticking in his foot, had been a work worthy of such a Queen, and of such a preparation; for then Her Maj. should have heard no more of his intentions for Ireland, or attempts upon the coast of France, or of drawing off ships and galleys into these narrow seas; but should have, at once, delivered all Christendom from his fearful usurpation. Wherein, as she had been great in fame for such a general preservation, so she had been as great in power in making all the enemies of the King of Spain in Christendom to depend upon her. She should be head of the party; she only might be said to make the wars with Spain,

because she only made them to purpose, and they all but as her assistants and dependants; and lastly, as the end of wars is peace, so she might have had peace when she would, and with what conditions she would, and have concluded or left out whom she would; for she only, by this course, should force him to wish for peace, and she had the means in her hands to make the conditions, and as easy it had been to have done this, as to have performed lesser services.

The objections against this will be hazard and charge; hazard to hold any thing of his that is so mighty a king, and charge to send such supplies from time to time as will be needful; for hazard, it is not the hazard of a state, as are the hazards of a defensive war, whensoever we are forced to fight; but it is only a hazard of some force, and such commanders as shall be set out for such a service; and those also that shall be so hazarded, shall be in less danger than if they were put into any frontier places of France, or of the Low Countries: for they should not be left in any part of the continent of Spain or Portugal, where the enemy might bring army upon army to attempt them (though I doubt not but after he had once tried what it were to besiege two or three thousand English in a place well fortified, and where they had a port open, he would grow quickly weary of those attempts), but they should be so lodged as the seat and strength of the place should warrant their safety; so that to pull Her Majesty's men out of it should be a harder task than to conquer any country that flanks upon the firm land by him; and to let the English quietly possess it should so much prejudice him as he were not able to endure it.

And for charge, there needs not so much be expended, but that it might easily be borne, and the place being well chosen, and the war well conducted, in a short time there would not only arise enough to pay the charge, but greater profit to Her Maj., and wealth to the country, would grow

from the place that should be held; for, in a short time, a great part of the golden Indian stream might be turned from Spain to England, and Her Majesty be made able to give law to all the world by sea, without her charge. Besides, this fearful enemy that is now a terror to all Christendom, should be so weakened in strength, reputation, and purse, as Her Maj. should for ever after have an easy enemy of him.

It may be that your LL. will desire to know the place that should be attempted: the means, first to take it, and then to hold it: the commodities or advantages that may grow to this state by it: but that, with your LL. leave, shall be reserved till my next. This is only to beseech you, for our dear Sovereign's sake, for the glory and welfare of her and her estate, that you will think of this general proposition, and if your LL. find it reasonable, that you will move it to the Queen, by whom, if I be commanded to set down the hypothesis, or to descend unto particulars, I will offer my project with this condition, that if I advise anything that the Council of War shall think dangerous, it may be rejected, or if myself be actor in any thing belonging to this project, wherein Her Majesty receive dishonor, that I may answer it with my life, and yet your LL. know I am matched with those in whom I have no particular interest, but I must attribute their assenting to me to my good hap in taking the better part. In my Lord, with whom I am joined, I find so much honor, and such zeal to do Her Maj. service, as I doubt not but our unity in affection will make an unity in counsel, action, and government.

I have troubled your LL. with a tedious letter, begun in a day of leisure, but finished in the midst of our toilsome business. I pray your LL. pardon the errors in it, and keep so honorable an opinion of me, as I be not condemned by you upon any complaints, advertisements, or reports, till I have given

answer to them; for as the nature of my place is subject to envy and detraction, so a little body full of sharp humors is hardliest kept in temper, and all the discontented humors of an army do make their greatest quarrel to him that commands the army, not so much for his faults, as because he bridles theirs. And so commending your good LL. to God's divine protection, I rest at your

Good LL. commandment,

ESSEX.

P.S.—I beseech your LL. pardon my using of another hand for this transcript, for I have been forced to go from ship to ship to make our loiterers go out of harbor, and have made my hand unable to write so long a letter.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

THE CADIZ EXPEDITION. — FORCE EMPLOYED. — VOYAGE TO CADIZ. — PROCEEDINGS THERE. — DEPARTURE FROM CADIZ. — ESSEX OVERRULED IN THE COUNCIL OF WAR. — RETURN OF THE FLEET TO PLYMOUTH. — THE QUEEN DISSATISFIED. — ENDEAVOURS TO DISPARAGE ESSEX, AND EXALT RALEGH. — ESSEX'S APOLOGY. — THE QUEEN'S INDIGNATION ON THE RECEIPT OF INTELLIGENCE, THAT IF THE ADVICE OF ESSEX AND LORD THOMAS HOWARD HAD BEEN FOLLOWED, THE INDIA FLEET WOULD HAVE BEEN CAPTURED. — RALEGH BLAMED. — BURGHLEY, ABUSED BY THE QUEEN, WRITES A FAWNING LETTER TO ESSEX.

FROM a return in the State Paper Office of the fleet, under the joint command of the Earl of Essex and Lord Howard [1], signed by them, it appears that the force consisted of—

Squadrons.	Queen's ships.	Hired ships.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
1	4	17	1528	1700
2	5	21	1812	1550
3	4	20	1736	1510
4	4	18	1348	1770
	17	76	6424	6530

The first squadron was commanded by the Earl of Essex; the second, by the Lord Admiral; the third,

[1] By their commission they were appointed equally generals of the forces by sea and land; but precedence given to Essex on shore, and to Howard at sea.

by Lord Thomas Howard[1]; the fourth, by Sir Walter Ralegh.

A Dutch squadron of 24 ships, with 2600 men, under Duvanvoord, Admiral of Holland, also joined in the expedition, and formed the fifth squadron.

A number of victuallers, fly-boats, and other small vessels swelled the fleet to the total number of 150 sail. A large proportion of the expense was borne by the noblemen and others in the fleet, many of whom served as volunteers, not having any employment under the Queen: among these were the Earl of Sussex[2], Lords Herbert[3] and Burke, Don Cristofer, Prince of Portugal; Count Ludovic of Nassau, and others. The number of volunteers was about 1000.

The principal officers, besides those already named, were, Sir Francis Vere[4], Lord Marshal; Sir George Carew[5], Master of the Ordnance; Sir Conyers Clifford[6], Serjeant Major, and Sir Anthony Ashley[7]: these formed the Council. Sir John Wingfield, Camp Master General; Oliver Lambart[8], Quarter Master; John Bucke, Provost Marshal.

[1] Eldest son of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded, 1572;—by his second wife Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden, in which barony Lord Thomas succeeded his mother, and was afterwards created Earl of Suffolk.

[2] Robert Ratcliffe, fifth earl.

[3] Son of William, third Earl of Pembroke.

[4] Third son of John, fifteenth Earl of Oxford.

[5] Afterwards Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, and Earl of Totness.

[6] Son of George Clifford, of Babbing Court, Kent.

[7] Of Wimborne St. Giles, Dorset; whose daughter and heir married Sir John Cooper.

[8] Created Baron of Cavan, 1617.

The Earl of Sussex, Sir Christopher Blount[1], Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Richard and Edward Wingfield[2], and Count Ludovic, were colonels.

Before the fleet put to sea a council was held, at which sealed instructions were given to every captain, not to be opened before reaching Cape St. Vincent, unless his ship became separated from the fleet, and in the event of capture they were to be thrown overboard: general instructions for the fleet were issued at the same time, which curious paper is inserted in the Appendix.[3]

The fleet sailed on the 1st June, but when off the Dodman, the wind becoming scant and light, it returned to Plymouth Sound till the 3rd, when it again sailed with a fair wind. The five squadrons, for purposes of look-out and better sea-room, separated themselves every day, covering a space of several leagues, closing in the evening "with friendly salu-"tations and gratulations one to another, which they "term by the name of hailing; a ceremony done "solemnly, and in very good order, with sound of "trumpets and noise of cheerful voices; and in such "sort performed was no small encouragement one to "another."[4]

[1] Sir Christopher Blount was Essex's father-in-law.

[2] Sir Richard Wingfield, created, 1618, Viscount Powerscourt: Sir Edward was his cousin and heir.

[3] E.

[4] The account of the Cadiz voyage is taken from Hakluyt; Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. iv.; Oldys' Life of Sir W. Ralegh; Sir William Monson's Account of the Wars with Spain, and Sir Francis Vere's account, Harl. MSS. 1344, p. 6.

Having on the way captured and detained some vessels, from which they obtained information while the enemy were unapprised of their approach, at the break of day on Sunday, the 20th June, they found themselves within half a league of Cadiz, and came to an anchor to the westward of the town. The Lord Admiral was resolved to possess the town before he attacked the ships; and therefore, notwithstanding a strong and increasing S. W. wind and a heavy sea, preparations were immediately made by Essex for landing with the troops at the Caleta. All the troops were in the boats, one of which was swamped with the loss of eight men, when, fortunately, Sir Walter Ralegh, who had been detached the preceding day to look into San Lucar, and detain any vessels he might fall in with, rejoined the fleet, and requesting Essex to delay the attempt at landing, which the Earl, who had been desirous to enter the bay at once, and attack the fleet, willingly consented to, proceeded to Lord Howard, and succeeded in convincing him that the risk the soldiers ran in landing was so great from the heavy sea, that probably many of them would be drowned, that the boats would be destroyed, and those who succeeded in reaching the shore would fall an easy prey to the enemy. The orders for landing were recalled; and when Sir Walter returned to Essex to inform him of his success, the latter in his joy at the determination to enter the bay, threw his hat into the sea, shouting out *Entramos, entramos!*

A council was thereupon held, at which it was determined to attack the Spanish fleet the following

morning: but a great question arose who should lead in; Essex, of course, demanded the post of honor; but Lord Howard, having been strictly charged by the Queen not to allow the Earl to expose himself to danger, but in great necessity, the whole council opposed him, and he was forced to give way.

Sir Walter Ralegh was appointed to lead the fleet into the Bay of Cadiz, followed by the Mary Rose, Sir George Carew; the Lion, Sir Robert Southwell[1]; the Rainbow, Sir Francis Vere; the Swiftsure, Captain Crosse; the Dreadnought, Sir Conyers and Alexander Clifford; the Nonpareil, Captain Dudley; and the twelve ships of London, with certain fly-boats.

Although the day was far gone before these arrangements were concluded, the fleet proceeded to weigh, and re-anchor in the mouth of the bay. The sea was at this time so heavy, or, as Sir F. Vere graphically describes it, "the wind was so great, and the billows "so high, that the capstern was too strong for my "men; cast them off against the ship's side, and "spoilt many of them, so as after many attempts to "wind up the anchor, I was forced to cut cable in "the half." So with the rest; some cut, some were able to weigh, and, at length, the whole fleet re-anchored.

In the morning, the enemy perceiving that it was intended to attack them where they lay, slipped their cables, and ran up the harbour: the men of war anchoring under Fort Puntal, the rich fleet of mer-

[1] Of Woodrising, Norfolk, and Mereworth, Kent; he married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Charles, Lord Howard, by Catharine Cary.

chantships going up to Puerto Real. The English advanced squadron weighed and stood in after them, receiving the fire of Fort Philip on the western promontory of Cadiz, of the curtain, and of the gallies that were moored along shore from the walls of the town to Fort Puntal, and "bestowing their benedic-" tions in return." "Every man," says one of the ac-" counts, sought to anchor as near the enemy's ships " as he could, but the channel being narrow with great " shelves on both sides, there could but these ships " come to an anchor conveniently: first, Sir Walter " Ralegh, then Sir Robert Southwell in the Rainbow, " then the Lord Thomas Howard in the Nonpareil, to " which ship he had removed from his own, the Mere " Honor or Honor de la Mer, which drew too much " water." Essex, who had with great difficultly been induced, by a unanimous vote of the Council, to remain with the Lord Admiral and main body of the fleet, no sooner saw his comrades under fire, than it became impossible to restrain him; and such was his ardour and determination, that he thrust his ship, the Ark Royal, close to that of Sir Walter Ralegh, in the very front of the battle.

The largest ships of the Spanish navy were named after the Apostles, and against four of these great ships, which were then at Cadiz, the St. Philip, St. Andrew, St. Matthew, and St. Thomas, the fire of our ships was chiefly directed. The Forts Philip and Puntal, with the gallies, which were anchored along shore between them, were not idle, the action soon became general, and was maintained without intermission from

seven in the morning till one in the afternoon; when, their ships being beaten, and their forts silenced, the Spaniards attempted to run the former on shore, and fire them, in which attempt they succeeded with the St. Philip, the largest ship in the Spanish navy, and the St. Thomas; but the St. Matthew, the ship "next in all "Spain" to the Philip, with the rest, fell into the hands of the victors. When the ships grounded, the crews and soldiers "leapt out like frogs into the water," or, as Ralegh says, "tumbling into the sea, came heaps "of soldiers, so thick as if coals had been poured out "of a sack in many parts at once, some drowned, and "some sticking in the mud." The train, which was to fire the St. Philip was so ill laid, that, before half the people could get out of her, she blew up, and "the spectacle was very lamentable on their side; "for many drowned themselves, many half burnt "leaped into the water; very many hanging by ropes' "ends to the ship's sides, under water even to the "lips; many swimming with grievous wounds; "strucken under water, and put out of their pain; "and withal so huge a fire and such tearing of the "ordnance in the great Philip, and the rest, when "the fire came to them, as if any man had a desire "to see hell itself, it was there most lively figured." The English, ever merciful after victory, saved great numbers in their boats; the Dutch, on the other hand, against whom it was insinuated that they had not been forward in action, showed no mercy, but slew all they could. We must not forget, however, that long years of bitter tyranny in the Low Countries

had rendered the very name of Spaniard hateful to their inhabitants, who having received no mercy from these hard masters, could scarcely be expected to show it. A few ships made their escape to Puerto Real, only, as we shall see, to share the same fate next day.

Several accounts of the Cadiz action were written, by some of the principal persons engaged, in which each has given to himself the chief merit, excepting Lord Howard, whose account appears impartial; and who, cooled by age—he was more than sixty years of age at this time—was not so jealous or emulous as his comrades were of each other. To his letter to Lord Hunsdon we are mainly indebted.

Up to this period of the day, it may be said that all were equally distinguished: or, if to any, the preference must be awarded to Sir Walter Ralegh, who, invested with the weight of experience, had so wisely and fortunately persuaded the Lord Admiral to change his original plan of attack, and who had the honour of leading the fleet into action.

In what follows, Essex stands foremost, and alone. Scarcely had the fire from the enemy's ships and batteries slackened, when he prepared to land: by his excellent arrangements, and by the influence of his burning ardour, which spread through his men like an infection, he succeeded, in the surprisingly short period of one hour, in landing 3000 men under Fort Puntal, being himself the first to leap ashore. Sending off a message by Sir Anthony Ashley to the Lord

Admiral urging and entreating that the ships should instantly follow up their victory, and render it complete by the capture of the rich Indian fleet at Puerto Real, while he himself stormed the town, — advice which was most unfortunately neglected, — he divided his force, sending one half under Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Christ. Blount, and Sir Thomas Gerrard, to seize and brake down the Puente Suazo, which, at a distance of seven or eight miles, united the isle of Leon to the mainland: himself, accompanied by the Earl of Sussex, Lords Herbert and Burke, Count Ludovic of Nassau, Sir Francis Vere, and others, led the other half against Cadiz, distant between two and three miles.

Under the burning rays of a midsummer sun, after having been seven hours in hot action, over hillocks of deep sand, which sank and slid from under their feet, did the impetuous valour of their leader carry the English, "at a trot," towards the force which was drawn up, horse in front and foot behind, to defend the approach to Cadiz. The same firm and dauntless front, which has since so often struck panic into the breasts of their foes, was shown that day by our gallant countrymen, who dashed on eager to cross pikes with their opponents. The Spaniards gazed in astonishment at the rapid and resolute advance of the English. They wavered, they turned, they fled: and, pursued closely by the ardent foe, sought refuge within the gates of Cadiz. This was afforded but for a moment; no difficulties could daunt, no walls keep out, the invaders; they were soon scaled; and Essex, "either the first man, "or else in a manner joined with him," rushed on to the

assault. In the market-place, the Spaniards made a gallant stand, and, supported as they were by the inhabitants from the flat roofs of the surrounding houses, the struggle here was for some time hot and fierce; but gradually backward along every street, the Spaniards were driven from corner to corner, at each of which a fruitless effort was made to stay the advance of the English, who, surely though slowly, continued to gain ground, and victory was no longer doubtful, when the Lord Admiral arrived with a reinforcement of 1200 men of the sea regiments, and, what was more wanted, a supply of ammunition. This instantly decided the fate of the day. The Spanish troops gave way at once, and retired to the citadel; the town ceased to resist, and by dusk was in quiet possession of the English. The generals and principal officers went to the council house, and there received the submission of the chief men of the city, and "happy "was he that could kneel down first to kiss our "feet."

Early the next morning the citadel surrendered, and, before ten o'clock, the standard of the Earl of Essex was flying from the Castle, and Lord Howard's "bloody ensign from the top of the fort next the sea, "called the fort of Philip."

This brilliant *coup de main*, by which, in fourteen hours, the principal port of Spain was entered, the fleet within it captured, and the city of Cadiz, garrisoned with 5000 men, taken, was executed with the loss of less than 300 men on our side, among whom Sir John Wingfield, shot through the head in the

market-place, was the only man of rank. "My Lord," writes Lord Howard, "I assure you there is not a "braver man in the world than the Earl is; and I "protest, in my poor judgment, a great soldier, for "what he doth is in great order and discipline per-"formed. But I must not forget to let your honor "know that all men did generally well, but the chief-"est for the service done by sea was the Earl, the "Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Ralegh, and my "son Southwell had the leading, and performed it "well; the place was so narrow that although many "would have come up to them, they could not pos-"sibly: the press was so great that one of our ships "was aboard another."

Lord Howard sums up thus: "The King's loss is "this much; first the loss of his ships, which was a "great part of his strength; then the goods laden in "them for the Indies, which were burnt, confessed to "be 11,000,000; the like quantity was never sent "before: if they had not burnt the ships and goods "that night, by the Duke of Medina his express com-"mandment, the generals should have had 2,000,000 "of the merchants, for so it was agreed upon. Besides "the town was of wonderful importance, standing as "it did, and of great strength. But now the castle, "forts, and other places of strength are by us razed, "and the most part of the town is also razed and "defaced.

"The mercy and clemency that hath been shewed "here will be spoken of throughout the world; no "aged or cold blood touched, no woman defiled, but

" were all with great care embarked and sent to St. " Mary's Port; and other women and children were " likewise sent thither, and suffered to carry away with " them all their apparel, and divers rich things which " they had about them, which no man might search for " upon pain of death.

Lord Howard might well be proud of the mercy and generosity shown to the citizens of Cadiz. Rarely, indeed, has it happened that the helpless inhabitants of a town, taken by assault, have been so cared for by the captors, and it reflects high and everlasting honour on the commanders that they so acted. It is gratifying to know that this conduct was fully appreciated in Spain. At the Court, in the Council, in the streets, all alike joined in praising the moderation and clemency shown in the protection afforded to ecclesiastics and churches; to more than three thousand nuns, virgins, and dames of honour, for the safety of their persons and their easy ransom. Of Essex, the Spanish King remarked, " *Tal hidalgo non sia visto* " *entre herejas;*" the Council, " *En verdad es hombre de* " *grande governo;*" while the people said, " *Lastima es* " *de tener guerra con tan buona gente y tan nobile.*

Respecting the fleet for the Indies, praise must be more sparingly awarded: unquestionably, if the advice of Essex had been followed, the whole might have been captured, and the vast wealth it contained have gone to enrich England. At the same time nothing could be worse than the policy of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, to avoid the payment of a ransom to the English, sacrificed six times the amount of property.

The chief inhabitants of the city, having agreed to pay a ransom of 120,000 ducats, and measures having been taken to spare the churches and monasteries, and other houses having been awarded, as was customary, to each of the principal officers, as their share of the plunder, the rest of the town was for a time given up to the soldiers.

Protection was afforded to all women, and religious persons of both sexes. The Bishop of Cusco, a venerable man, who was about to embark in the fleet just destroyed, was received by the Generals with the utmost respect and delicacy; they told him, that they came not to make war on churchmen or unarmed persons, they gave him his liberty without ransom, and conveyed him to Port St. Mary's.

This generous conduct must have gone sadly against the grain with Sir Walter Ralegh, who had no small share of the buccaneer in his composition; and, in his account, he accordingly tells us, that he has "naught but poverty and pain," and insinuates that while he was confined to his ship by a wound in his leg, the Lords Generals were careful to feather their own nests; while it really appears that Essex and the two Howards were the only persons who refrained from pillage, and who considered that they had some higher duties to perform than the enriching of themselves.

On Saturday, the 26th June, the remains of Sir John Wingfield were interred in the cathedral with military honours.

On Sunday, after divine service had been performed

in the Abbey, and a sermon preached by the chaplain of the Earl of Essex, one "Master Hopkins, a man of "good learning, and sweet utterance," the Lords Generals created knights; Lord Howard making twenty-seven, Essex, thirty-six. Among them, for it is needless to enumerate the whole, were the Prince of Portugal, Count Ludovic of Nassau, the Earl of Sussex, Lords Herbert and Burke, Sir George Devereux[1], Henry Neville[2], Arthur Throckmorton[3], William Monson[4], Gilly Merrick[5], Anthony Ashley, Richard Leveson[6], Samuel Bagnall, Horatio Vere, Oliver Lambart, Christopher Blount, Amias Preston. By the liberality of the Generals in conferring this honour they incurred the anger of the Queen, the jealousy of some, and the ridicule of others of their countrymen at home. Some of the wits made the following pasquinade on the occasion.

A gentleman of Wales,
With knight of Cales,
And a Lord of the north countrie;
A yeoman of Kent,
Upon a rack't rent,
Will buy them out all three.

Among all the commanders, Essex appears to have been the only one who considered that, while any

[1] Essex's uncle.
[2] Of Billingbere, Berks, brother of Edward, Lord Abergavenny.
[3] Son of Sir Nicholas, brother-in-law of Ralegh.
[4] Of Carlton, Lincoln; afterwards Rear-Admiral of England.
[5] Steward of the Earl of Essex.
[6] Of Trentham; he made Sir William Gower his heir, the ancestor of the Duke of Sutherland.

thing remained to be done, they had not done enough, and ought not to return home. It was unfortunate that his colleague in the chief command was so aged that the exertion attending the capture of Cadiz had exhausted his energies, and, desirous of repose, he was induced to throw the weight of his name and authority into the other scale. In the council of war, which sat to deliberate on their next steps, great diversity of opinion prevailed. Essex was for marching into Andalusia, and attacking the Duke of Medina, who was reported to have collected some force; but he was overruled; he next offered, with 3000 or 4000 men, to maintain Cadiz till the Queen's pleasure were known: that also was disapproved. The next proposal was, that they should put to sea, and endeavour to intercept the homeward bound West Indian fleet: this, also, was set aside, on pretence of scarcity of provisions; the true reason, however, being, that the majority, thinking they had done enough, were anxious to get home and realise their plunder; although, as it afterwards turned out, this last plan would have succeeded perfectly, and have been a tremendous blow to Spain. It was at length determined that they should return to England, visiting the Spanish ports, and destroying the shipping on their way.

Essex, as we have said, sent no account of the taking of Cadiz; it was needless, his actions spoke for themselves.[1] A short and modest letter to Lord

[1] Hearing of the slighting remarks which were made at home, disparaging the service and his share in it, Cuffe, as will be seen, wrote an

Burghley was all he sent by the bearer of the dispatch.

No. CV.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I shall not need to tell your L. that Cales is won, and the King of Spain's great fleet at Cales defeated and destroyed. I shall less need to relate the particular circumstances of either; for as Fame itself will bring the first, so this gentleman that carries my letter will perform the second. This is to crave of your L. that I may be continued in your L. good favor, and to pray you that you will plead for me till my return; that before I be heard, I be not upon report, or misconceit, brought into H. M. displeasure, for I doubt not your L. and such honorable judges shall think I do acquit myself like an honest man. I wish your L. all honours, health, and happiness, and rest at your L. commandment,

ESSEX.

Cales, the 1st July.

On the 4th July, the captured brass ordnance having been embarked, with some liberated captives, as well as such provisions and stores as were needed, the remainder were burnt, the town razed and defaced, and the public buildings destroyed, with the exception of the churches and religious houses, all of which were respected and uninjured. The army was then embarked, and the fleet put to sea the next day, having

account under the dictation of Essex, which it was intended to print; but the adverse party hearing of it, obtained a prohibition against any but the authorised account being printed.

[1] Lansd. MSS. 82. 12.

spent a fortnight in Cadiz.[1] The first place they came to was Faro, a town of the Algarve, and a bishop's see. Troops were landed about three leagues from the town, which was plundered, and a considerable quantity of brass ordnance brought away, with all the provisions and cattle that could be obtained within a circuit of two leagues. Essex took for his share the valuable library of Jerome Osorius, formerly Bishop of Algarve, a large part of which he subsequently presented to the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. This done they again proceeded northward. Off this coast Essex wrote to A. Bacon.

No. CVI.[2]

Essex to Bacon.

Sr, — I pray you let this letter serve both to satisfy you, and to commend me to your brother Francis, for I am so overwatched, and have so little time, as I must crave pardon of my friends if I do not yield them full satisfaction. I must study, as well to draw the company that is with me to do service, or to consent to have it done, as to execute it orderly. The gallies are so watchful, the Spaniard so greedy to get some little advantage, wherewith he may comfort himself for his great losses, our fleet so disorderly, and I so look to receive the same affronts, that Sir John Norreys and Sir Francis Drake did, as I do nothing but look out and go from one side of the fleet to another. I had thought to have rested at sea after our land travails, but our small and undefensible

[1] Lord Essex left at Cadiz another memento of his visit. His arms, cut in stone, were let into the wall of the town, near the Puerta de Tierra; and if they are not there still, no long period has elapsed since their removal. This was probably the spot where he scaled the wall.

[2] Bacon MSS. 658. 109.

ships do as much strive to lose themselves, as we to save them: yet I thank God we have not lost so much as a shallop, and I hope we shall not, for if the gallies see but one good ship to defend the lesser, they will none. The captains of the gallies being aboard my ship when I redeemed the English slaves, confessed they would not, with twenty gallies, undertake a fight with her alone.

Let this paper deliver you my best wishes, and let all our country, and specially our particular friends, thank God for this great victory. For all things else I refer you to Reynolds, who shall from time to time acquaint you with all he receives. I wish you all happiness, and rest your true friend,

ESSEX.

I once again pray you commend me to your brother Francis, if I go not a land to-morrow I will write to him.

From the coast betwixt Andalusia and Algarve, this 8th of July, 1596.

When they arrived off the Rock of Lisbon, Essex and Lord Thomas Howard made another effort to prosecute the service, by remaining at sea, desiring to have twelve ships only left with them: but to this, although the Dutch Admiral offered to join them, the Council would not consent: it would have been a tacit admission that they had themselves returned home before completing the service on which they had been sent.

Looking into the Groyne[1] and Ferroll, and finding no ships there, they made the best of their way to England, Lord Howard with the principal part of the fleet arriving at Plymouth on the 8th August. Essex,

[1] Corunna.

who had the prizes in charge, did not arrive until the 10th, when he proceeded immediately to the Court, the Lord Admiral taking the fleet round to the Downs.

Although the Queen had a due sense of the glory and advantages acquired by this expedition, she was highly incensed on receiving a letter from the Admiral, written off the coast of Portugal, demanding money to pay the mariners' wages. We give an extract from her reply to him. "Though we have already "written you divers letters, to prevent the incon- "venience which we suspected would follow this "journey, that it would be rather an action of honor "and virtue against the enemy, and particular profit "by spoil to the army, than any way profitable "to ourself; yet now we do plainly see, by the "return of our whole fleet, that the actions of hope "are fully finished without as much as surety of "defraying the charge past, or that which is now to "come, as doth appear by your fresh sending for "large sums of money for pay of mariners."

Such was Elizabeth's mode of thanking her officers for performing a brilliant service, by which they had entirely removed all present fear of a Spanish invasion of England. After having reproached him for expecting that, after the 50,000*l.* the expedition had cost, she was to pay more money for wages, she ordered 2000*l.* to be given for that purpose with another 2000*l.* already imprest to the Earl of Essex, and declaring that she expected those who obtained

the plunder to bear the charges, ordered that the men and ships should be searched.

Commissioners were appointed for that purpose, but it is not likely that a command so unpalatable to all concerned in the action was very strictly obeyed: the State Paper Office contains the return made by the Commissioners, and when it is considered that this was the amount of plunder admitted by the captors themselves, and therefore probably much below the real amount; while of the property acquired by the volunteers and the Dutch squadron they could have no account; we must allow that Cadiz had been a rich prize. The Spaniards indeed estimated their loss at between five and six millions, exclusive of the Indian fleet.

The return is entitled "A brief Abstract of all such "money, plate, jewels, and goods taken in the late "service under the Earl of Essex and the Lord "Admiral at Cales in Spain, by sundry persons, ac- "cording to the notes under their own hands, to "H. M. Commissioners in Plymouth."[1]

		£	s.	d.
Reals of plate - - -	value	6925	10	0
Wrought plate - - -		513	15	0
Chains of gold - - -		250	0	0
Gold rings - - -		3	0	0
Golden buttons - - -		72	0	0
Ragg pearl - - -		20	0	0

[1] Sir George Cary, Sir J. Gilbert, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges were appointed to see what goods had been embezzled by the ships in the Cadiz voyage.

		£	s.	d.
Quicksilver - - -	value	230	0	0
Hollands - - - -		800	0	0
Hollands damasks - - -		40	0	0
Chests of sugar - - -		1325	0	0
India hides - - -		1425	0	0
Bills great and small - -		200	0	0
Armour and head-pieces - -		472	10	0
Tin - - - -		144	0	0
Lead - - - -		213	15	0
Steel - - - -		7	10	0
Spanish iron - - -		28	0	0
Angale - - - -		4	0	0
Wood - - - -		4	0	0
Brimstone - - -		15	0	0
Wines - - - -		120	0	0
		£12,838	10	0

Besides, Aqua vitæ, Printed books, Tapestry, Old hangings, Turkey carpets, Household stuff } esteemed for plunder and therefore not valued.

The following were the most successful foragers:

		£	s.	d.
Sir Francis Vere's	plunder was worth	3628	0	0
Sir Walter Ralegh	„	1769	0	0
Sir Conyers Clifford	„	3256	0	0
Sir Matthew Morgan	„	1036	0	0
Sir Oliver Lambart	„	650	0	0
Sir Thos. Gerrard	„	440	0	0

These goods were acknowledged to be in the pos-

session of the parties, but were not seized.[1] Yet we have Sir Walter Ralegh complaining querulously that he got nothing but blows, while the other generals were feathering their nests.

Essex on his arrival at Plymouth found a letter from Edward Reynolds, which quickened his return to Court. It informed him that many suggestions were made to Her Majesty in prejudice of his Lordship's merit in the Cadiz action. Sir William Cornwallis[2], Henry Brooke[3], and others of the opposite faction, were busily dropping their poisonous insinuations into the royal ear. Sir Anthony Ashley, who had been the bearer of the first accounts, was a friend of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, Ralegh's brother-in-law; to whom and the sea service he endeavoured to give all the merit, and from his notes Sir Robert Cecyll and the Council drew up an account for publication. In the mean time Henry Cuffe, who had accompanied Essex, arrived, with an account he had drawn up under Essex's instructions. This he gave to Mr. A. Bacon to be printed, under the title of "A "True Relation of the Action at Cadiz, under the "Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, sent to a

[1] There is a picture in the gallery of Buckingham Palace, representing the calling of St. Matthew, by Mabuse, which formed an item in the Cadiz booty, as appears by a catalogue of the pictures of Charles I., to whom it afterwards belonged.

[2] Eldest son of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, of Broom Hall, Suffolk, an enemy of Essex, "who often troubled Her Majesty's ears with tales" of him.

[3] Henry, son of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, Lord Chamberlain; the son was one of Essex's most bitter enemies.

"Gentleman in Court from one that served there in "a good place." This coming to the knowledge of the Council through Sir A. Ashley, who had, under promise of secrecy, been made acquainted with their intention by Reynolds, the Lords prohibited all printers from publishing any account excepting by especial permission. On this Mr. Bacon had divers copies and translations made, which he sent to Scotland, the Low Countries, and France.

Elizabeth, though she did not conceal her joy at his return, would not suffer Essex to enter into any justification of his conduct. The people, on the other hand, gave him all the credit of the action[1], and his greatly increased popularity, with the undisguised pleasure he received from it, must have been a powerful engine in the hands of his adversaries, to excite the mind of so jealous a sovereign as Elizabeth. Edward Reynolds, in the letter already alluded to, says, "I may not forget to let your L. understand "how honorably my L. Archbishop of Canterbury "hath carried himself towards your L., in procuring "a thanksgiving for this victory, which once was "granted to be general in all parts, but afterwards "restrained by Her Majesty's commandment to "London only; and how yesterday there was a

[1] His name was anagrammed, and this distich made upon it:

Vere Dux, Deverux, et verior Hercule: Gades
Nam semel hic vidit: vicit ac ille simul.

which was thus Englished:

Alcides yields to Devereux; he did see
Thy beauties, Cadiz: Devereux conquered thee.

" sermon preached at Paul's by a chaplain of his, who " very truly, and with great applause, sounded your " L.'s worthy fame, your justice, wisdom, valor, and " noble carriage in this action, making many com- " parisons of your L. with the chiefest generals, and " much inveighing against such as extenuated this " happy victory. But, said he, honor and valor will " flourish, maugre malice and envy itself."[1] All this must have been highly offensive to the Queen, who could not bear that any of her subjects should receive praise or honor, but from herself.

We find that, at the same time, the Cecylls took open part against him. The fact of Sir Robert having obtained the Secretaryship so long vacant, and so ardently desired by him, on the 5th July, accounts curiously for their extreme friendliness to, and flattering treatment of, Essex, and their furtherance of his departure for Cadiz, with their opposite conduct now.

No. CVII.[2]

Essex to A. Bacon.

Sir,—I do find your letter to my Lady Russell to be a very good and a wise letter, and I would have come to you this afternoon to have heard the charge of my L. Treasurer, and your particular answers, but I am, by extraordinary business, tied to this place. I do exceedingly long to hear them.

[1] Bacon MSS. 658. 173.

[2] Ibid. 659. 99. The first paragraph of this letter refers to the endeavour made by the Cecylls to detach A. Bacon from the interests of Essex; and the account which has been already referred to was written in compliance with the wish here expressed.

Therefore, I pray you, let me entreat you to set them down in writing.

I can send you no news but that yesterday my L. Treasurer and Sir Rob. Cecyll did before the Queen contest with me, that though Sir George Carew and his fellows were appointed Commissioners for Her Majesty's profit, to seize, keep, and bring home all; yet I was to be charged that nothing was brought home, for this trust committed to them was no excuse for me.

And this day I was more braved by your little cousin than ever I was by any man in my life; but I am not, nor was not angry, which is all the advantage I have of him. I wish to you as to myself, and rest your true friend,

Greenwich, this 8th Sept. ESSEX.

However well satisfied Lord Thomas Howard might have been with the honour and glory of the Cadiz voyage, it seems, by her letter to Anthony Bacon, that his wife was not at all willing to go without a share of the profits; and she accordingly complains of his being neglected. Essex, in his reply, clears himself from the charge of want of care for his friends; and it does not appear what more Lady Howard could desire, since her husband disdained to pillage, than a share of the ransom and a house. It was the custom to assign to each officer of rank a house in the captured town, for the security of which the owner paid a ransom. This complaint of Lady Howard's was only one out of many of a similar nature, which Essex had to answer, especially from the fair sex. One lady, who signs herself Susan Kent [1],

[1] Susan, daughter of Richard Bertie and Catherine, widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in her own right Baroness Willoughby of

writes a letter complaining of her poverty, and asking relief from the Earl of Essex, concluding with the very reasonable request, that she may have that share in the profits of the voyage, which her husband would have had if he had lived, and been a partaker in it!

Essex thought it necessary to clear himself from the accusations insinuated, rather than openly charged, against him during the Cadiz voyage.

No. CVIII.[1]

Lady Howard to A. Bacon.

Your courtesy and kind offer of friendship to me the last summer, good Mr. Bacon, makes me the better to trouble you than upon so small acquaintance I should, with a matter of some weight, and the rather because I am loth to trouble my uncle Harry in dealing with one whom he honors so much, in the behalf of his own nephew. You must needs hear that my Lord's estate is very much engaged by this journey, and his disposition such as he can crave nothing: my hope was that if anything were to be gained, my L. should not have been left out by my L. of Essex; but yet I find he was, when every other friend of his had somewhat either in commodities or in prisoners. It was told me certainly that, in consideration here of that, my L. should have for his part five thousand pounds, and Sir Walter Ralegh three; but, being yesterday at the Court, I heard that the Queen claimed all, and my L. of Essex, it is thought, will yield his right to Her Maj., so as my L. should either have nothing, or less

Eresby; married first, Reginald, Earl of Kent; secondly, Sir John Wingfield, who was killed at Cadiz, and to whom she refers in the letter.

[1] Bacon MSS. 658. 164.

than at the first was promised. If it stood only upon my own good, I could be content; but since my L. whole estate shall fare the worse, I am bold with my friends to deal with my L. of Essex in so great an extremity. My Lord hath spent already 20,000*l.* in the Queen's service; it were hard that in this action, wherein none are forgotten but those that lack friends, he should be thus forgotten. I will write no more, but refer the dealing to your friendship; and if my Lo. find no more favour than this, never to believe in any more generals. I will ever be thankful for this kindness, and ever rest, your very assured and thankful friend,

K. Howard.[1]

Let my L. know that this has come to you by common brute, and not be known of my writing, but let me know his answer.

No. CIX.[2]

Essex to A. Bacon.

Sir,—I have received your letter, by which I perceive you have heard of my Lord Thomas Howard's small profiting by this journey, and that some constructions are made that it was my want of affection to his L., or my too much partiality to other men. To which I answer, that I will send all those that make this complaint unto his L., who, I think, will clear me from so unjust imputation. He knows himself I sought to do him all the honor and kindness I could. He had, in the castle, a house, which was reputed of equal value with any, and was sued for by Sir Walter Ralegh most

[1] Katherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Knevett, of Charlton, Wilts; was second wife of Lord Thomas Howard: she was a celebrated beauty, and made use of her influence in the next reign to obtain great sums of money. Audley End was built by her husband, then Earl of Suffolk: it was a saying that it was built "out of Spanish gold."

[2] Bacon MSS. 658. 168.

earnestly. He was, and is, by my assignment, to have 10,000 ducats out of the general ransom; and if the ships had been possessed, he should have had as large a share for a vice-admiral, as either of us for admirals. By pillage he did disdain to get, as well as we ourselves.

But I see the fruits of these kind of employments, and I assure you I am as much distasted with the glorious greatness of a favourite, as I was before with the supposed happiness of a courtier, and call to mind the words of the wisest man that ever lived, who, speaking of man's works, crieth out, Vanity of vanities, and all but vanity; against which I oppose, that when God had looked upon all his works, he saw that they were good. To this work, therefore, if I can but carry one brick, or one trowel full of mortar, I shall live happily, and die contentedly. To other works, let them apply themselves that in these earthly buildings shall be better assisted, and do themselves only delight in that kind of architecture. Hold still in your kindest affection your true friend,

24th of August. ESSEX.

This reply does not seem to have been satisfactory to the lady, for we find that Lord Harry Howard, her husband's uncle, and an intimate friend of Essex, was called in to intercede: his reply to that Lord breathes the spirit of humility which he had adopted since his return from Spain, and to which we shall refer again shortly.

No. CX.[1]

Essex to Lord Harry Howard.

Noble Lord,—I am glad you saw my letter, and would be more glad you saw the mind, and knew the spirit that in-

[1] Bacon MSS. 658. 198.

dited it: then you would neither think you needed to have made apology for yourself, or that I was otherwise moved than with the desire to acquit myself towards your honorable friends. I have a crabbed fortune that gives me no quiet, and the sour food I am fain still to digest, may breed sour humours; but I do as warily watch myself from corrupting myself, as I do seek to guard myself from others. I protest to love your nephew, and honor his noble lady as much as I do any couple in this kingdom; but he that is proud of his innocence, will rudely sometimes put off charges from him. To yourself I say, that when you use defences to me, you do both me and yourself wrong; for I both love you, and owe too much, except I could pay you more: but I will be ever your L.'s kindest cousin and truest friend,

Greenwich, this 28th August, 1596. ESSEX.

Essex did not sit still under the imputations which his enemies had charged against him, but he did openly, what they did in secret. As early as the 19th August, we find he was writing an "excellent apology "for himself, answering most soundly and honorably "all accusations or calumniations of error or omission "that the adverse party may suggest, or rather charg-"ing them deeply with both, besides very wilful "negligence."

The following abstract of it contains the most important portions[1]:

Objection. That the principal thing omitted was, that they did not possess themselves of the fleet bound to the Indies.

[1] Bacon MSS. 658. 146.

Answer. If I had been followed the first morning we came before Cadiz, or if we had entered on Sunday afternoon, or after the ships of war were taken next day, as I urged by message by Sir Anthony Ashley, Secretary at War, the fleet might have been seized without difficulty, for, in the first case, the merchant ships and men of war were together, and the next day they were so confused they might have been taken easily.

Objection. That we abandoned Cadiz when we had it.

Answer. Some of the sea commanders, especially my colleagues, opposed that design; and, when we came to consider what force was necessary to leave there, I found I could not have one ship. They all complained of wants, and declared the necessity of returning home.

Objection. That we did not intercept the fleet from the Indies.

Answer. I refer to the testimony of all our commanders by sea and land, whether I did not urge the proceeding to the Azores for that purpose. This counsel being rejected, when we arrived off Lisbon, I again pressed the lying in wait for them with a squadron of ships, and offered to send home all the land forces, and all the ships that were unfit to remain. The first proposal being rejected, the Lord Admiral and Sir Walter Ralegh protesting against it under their hands; when we came to the second there was not any Captain found who declared himself content to remain abroad except Lord Thomas and myself, besides the Dutch Admiral. The opinion of every member of the council was taken down and signed by him.

Objection. That the chief object of the voyage being to destroy the Spanish shipping and naval stores, Why did we not look into their principal ports?

Answer. Between San Lucar and Lisbon there is no good port: from the latter we were restrained by our instructions.

From Lisbon to the Groyne there is no port for large ships: to the latter place I prevailed with them, but not without great difficulty, to go, having protested against their refusal. We looked into both that place and Ferrol, and found nothing. After this we held our last council, and I urged going to St. Andrew, Passages, and St. Sebastian; but the Lord Admiral absolutely refused, complaining of wants, and representing the danger of being embayed, and other inconveniences, in which Sir Walter Ralegh confirmed him. As for landing at the Groyne, and attempting the town, they would not hear of it, but cried out, "Let us make sail homewards."

In another paper he pointed out to the Queen the advantages she had gained, of which the principal were: "That being threatened with invasion, "she had offered her enemy battle at his own door; "had defeated and destroyed his principal fleet, in "which were some of the ships in which the Spaniard "placed his greatest pride, and two of them were "brought home in triumph, which were not built for "less than 15,000*l.*: That one of the fairest and "strongest towns of war belonging to Spain was "taken; that the army of the King of Spain did "not dare look upon them; that her army was en-"riched, and the courage of the soldiers raised for "future service. On the other side, the King of "Spain had lost thirteen ships of war, the Indian "fleet, forty merchant ships, all goodly and well "appointed and four Levantics. Great store of sea "provisions destroyed in Cadiz, which cannot be re-"placed under many years. That his merchants lost "in the fleet twelve millions, and in the town so

" much that almost all the great traders to the Indies " will be bankrupt. And, above all, he is now half " disarmed at sea, and his weakness at home dis- " covered."

Whether these papers would, of themselves, have been sufficient to appease and satisfy the Queen, cannot be known; for on the 4th September the news arrived, that only two days after the protest of the Earl and Lord Thomas Howard had been made in the Council against proceeding to England, instead of looking for the homeward bound fleet from the Indies, that fleet, with twenty millions of ducats, entered the Tagus. The tables were now completely turned, and all the Queen's indignation fell on the advisers of the course followed. Mr. Bacon writes, "*Necesse est*," said our Saviour, "*ut scandala eveniant, sed væ illis per quos.* " Sir Walter Ralegh has enough of these *væ's* laid " upon him for having dissuaded my Lord Admi- " ral from joining with my Lord of Essex, and per- " suaded an untimely, unlucky, and most dishonour- " able return."[1]

The Duke of Bouillon, who was then for the third time on a mission to obtain the assistance of an English force for his master, was sumptuously entertained at Essex House at a banquet, the expense of which was at least a thousand marks, where "there " were unmeasurable toasts drank among them." Bouillon shortly afterwards returned to France, having renewed the ancient bonds of amity between the two Sovereigns, and obtained the promise of a force

[1] Bacon MSS. 659. 111.

of 2000 men, to be sent under Sir Thomas Baskerville to serve the French King, and be maintained at his expense.

Although the merits of Essex's plans had been ably vindicated by himself, and corroborated by the actual arrival of the fleet he would have intercepted, and that in consequence he had resumed his place in Her Majesty's good graces, the spirit of avarice was too strong in Elizabeth for her easily to put up with the loss of her anticipated profits; and she appears to have continued to haggle with the captors about their right to various portions of the Cadiz prize money, until at length even old Burghley opposed her. The letters which follow on this subject, the undignified violence and coarse language used by the Queen to her faithful old servant, the fawning tone of Burghley in his letter to Essex, the dignity of the latter's reply, and the open contempt which Anthony Bacon shows for his uncle, are very striking and very curious.

No. CXI.[1]

Burghley to Essex.

My Lord,—My hand is weak, my mind troubled, and therefore my letter must be shorter than the subject offered me, and a few lines interpreted with favor, until I may, by speech, add a commentary or a paraphrase.

I came from the Court with the burden of Her Majesty's displeasure, expressed as my L. Buckhurst and Mr. Fortescue did hear with words of indignity, reproach, and rejecting of me as a miscreant and a coward, for that I would not assent

[1] Bacon MSS. 659. 136.

to her opinion that your L. ought (not) to have the profit of the prisoners, wishing her to hear you, both with what conditions your L. received them, and so Her Maj. was to direct the compt; but herewith Her Maj. increased her ireful speeches, that I, either for fear or favor, regarded you more than herself, which she said she did otherwise observe in me, but hereof I have no comfort to write much. Now, being come thence laden with grief for her so implacable displeasure, only for this your cause, I am farther laden with report of your displeasure also, whereof my Lady Russell hath advertised me largely by her letter, so as having found myself oppressed with Her Maj. displeasure, I see that I shall be still kept down with an overweight of your mislike of me, altogether without any meaning of my desert, so as I am in worse case than the sense of the old verse, "*Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdem,*" for my misfortune is to fall into both, the danger of the one doth not free me from the other. Her Maj. chargeth and condemneth me for favoring of you against her; your Lordship contrariwise misliketh me for pleasing of Her Maj. to offend you: my case were miserable, if against you both, I had not comfort, by God, through a good conscience, and therein I will rest. I see no possibility worthily to shun both these dangers, but by obtaining of licence to live an anchorite, or some such private life, whereunto I am meetest for my age, my infirmity, and daily decaying estate; but yet I shall not be stopped by the displeasure of either of you both to keep my way to heaven. Thus your L. seeth how rudely with a weak hand, how discontentedly in the world's eye, and how well contentedly in God's sight, I do write at this time, referring all particulars for the ground of your offence to be discussed at your will hereafter.

From my house at Theobalds, the 22d Sept. 1596. Your L.'s, as you will have me, at your commandment,

W. BURGHLEY.

No. CXII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I have received a letter from your Lordship sent to me by my Lady Russell, to which, with your L. favour, I do now make answer.

The honor your L. doth me to write upon the first notice given you, that I had sense of some unkindness from you, is greater than I could challenge; and yet, the occasion of writing in so strange a style, less than I think my Lady herself, that heard me, did apprehend. Your L. applieth to me the phrase of *displeasure*, and to yourself of being *kept down*, when both the matter and the manner of my speech was full of reverence to your L., and humble in itself. I know the weakness of mine own state; and I am striving every day to make the world know the quietness of my hurt, and the temper of my affections, so as if I should receive hurt from your Lordship, I would rather sit down with loss, than seek to right myself by contention. Whether I did receive prejudice by your L. speech or no, I will make yourself judge, when I next wait upon you. In the mean time, I pray your L. believe, that I have no ambition but Her Majesty's gracious favor, and the reputation of well serving her. And if your L. shall hear or apprehend anything that may make you think I deserve them not, if you will make me know it, I will either be cleared by making my just apology, or reformed, when once my fault is proved to me, and by your L. sooner than by any man. For I have ever desired, and so do, that your L. were well edified of me: which, if I may obtain, your L. shall find me most disposed to do your L. service.

Sept. 23. R. ESSEX.

[1] Bacon MSS. 650. 133.

Anthony Bacon writing to Dr. Hawkins, at Venice, a few days after, says, "Our Earl, God be thanked! "hath with the bright beams of his valor and virtue "scattered the clouds and cleared the mists that "malicious envy had stirred up against his matchless "merit; which hath made the Old Fox to crouch and "whine, and to insinuate himself by a very submissive "letter to my Lord of Essex, subscribed in these "terms, 'Your Lordship's, *if you will*, at command-"ment.'"[1] He further tells the Doctor that the Queen's picture is on its way to him, and the Earl's will be sent whenever he shall have leisure to sit it out. The Earl sends Dr. Hawkins 100*l.* beyond his usual allowance.

[1] Bacon MSS. 659. 164. Dr. Hawkins was Essex's agent in Italy; he went there in the end of the year 1595.

CHAPTER XIV.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX—*continued.*

POSITION OF ESSEX AFTER THE CADIZ VOYAGE. — FRANCIS BACON'S ADVICE TO HIM. — HE ENDEAVOURS TO FOLLOW IT. — ILLNESS. — HIS EDIFYING CHANGE OF LIFE SINCE HIS RETURN — LADY BACON'S LETTER TO ESSEX ON HIS REPORTED BACKSLIDING, AND HIS REPLY. — RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ESSEX, CECYLL, AND RALEGH. — RALEGH RESTORED TO FAVOUR. — ESSEX APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE EXPEDITION DESIGNED AGAINST SPAIN. — HE GOES TO CHATHAM. — LETTERS FROM ESSEX TO THE QUEEN ON HIS PASSAGE FROM THE DOWNS TO PLYMOUTH. — ESSEX AND THE COUNCIL OF WAR REPORT THEIR SAFE ARRIVAL AT PLYMOUTH. — HIS INSTRUCTIONS. — ESSEX'S FAREWELL TO THE QUEEN WHILE WEIGHING ANCHOR.

THE Earl of Essex, after the Cadiz expedition, touched the pinnacle of his fortunes. His favor with the Queen could not indeed be greater than before, but his popular reputation was vastly increased: herein lay the danger of his position; hence his fall. Queen Elizabeth was haughty and tyrannical, envious and jealous; and could not bear that the man whom she had raised to the position of her favourite, should be also the idol of the army and of the people; still less that he should undisguisedly take pleasure in being so. But she had no delicate perceptions; she did not understand, and could not appreciate, the finer and more sensitive parts of Essex's character. She acted towards him like the stubborn rider of an impetuous

but generous steed, who curbs and irritates him, until, goaded to madness, he rears and falls back, when by gentler management and good temper he might have been made a docile instrument of his master's will.

Francis Bacon wrote to Essex, on the 4th October, a letter of advice on the subject of his relations with the Queen; of the wise advice of a man possessing deep insight into the characters of those with whom he dealt: of an experienced man of the world: of a subtle, accomplished, and unprincipled courtier. I have made long extracts from this letter, as it affords a very clear view of the position of Essex at this time: those who desire to read it at length will find it printed in Lord Bacon's works.[1] We shall see also in the course of events, that the advice of Bacon was not without its effect on the conduct of his patron, who endeavoured on several occasions to act up to it. It is a letter which is creditable to its writer, so far as it shows that he did really feel an anxious desire for the welfare of the friend who had so often proved the warmth of his friendship to himself.

Bacon writes, "I humbly desire your Lordship, "before you give access to my poor advice, to look "about, even jealously a little, if you will, and to "consider, first, whether I have not reason to think "that your fortune comprehendeth mine: next, "whether I shift my counsel and do not *constare mihi;* "for I am persuaded there are some would give you "the same counsel now, which I shall, but that they

[1] By B. Montagu, Lond. 1830, vol. xi. p. 179.

" should derogate from that which they have said
" heretofore. Thirdly, whether you have taken hurt,
" at any time, by my careful and devoted counsel.
" For although I remember well your L. once told
" me that you, having submitted upon my well-
" meant motion at Nonsuch, the place where you
" renewed a treaty with Her Majesty of obsequious
" kindness, she had taken advantage of it; yet I sup-
" pose you do since believe, that it did much attemper
" a cold malignant humor, then growing upon Her
" Majesty towards your L., and hath done you good in
" consequence. And for being against it, that now
" lately you should estrange yourself, although I give
" place to none in true gratulation, yet neither do I
" repent me of safe counsel; neither do I judge of the
" whole play by the first act. But whether I counsel
" you the best, or for the best, duty bindeth me to
" offer to you my wishes. I said to your L. last time,
" *Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit.*
" Win the Queen; if this be not the beginning, of any
" other course I can see no end. And I will not now
" speak of favor or affection, but of other correspond-
" ence and agreeableness, which, whensoever it shall
" be conjoined with the other of affection, I durst
" wager my life—let them make what *prosopopœias*
" they will of Her Majesty's nature—that in you she
" will come to the question of " *Quid fiet homini, quem*
" *rex vult honorare?* But how is it now? A man of
" a nature not to be ruled, that hath my affection and
" knoweth it, of an estate not grounded to his great-
" ness, of a popular reputation, of a military depend-

" ence: I demand whether there can be a more
" dangerous image than this represented to any
" monarch living, much more to a lady, and of Her
" Majesty's apprehension? And is it not more evi-
" dent than demonstration itself, that whilst this im-
" pression continueth in Her Majesty's breast, you
" can find no other condition than inventions to keep
" your estate bare and low; crossing and disgracing
" your actions, extenuating and blasting of your merit,
" carping with contempt at your nature and fashions;
" breeding, nourishing, and fortifying such instru-
" ments as are most factious against you, repulses and
" scorns of your friends and dependents that are true
" and stedfast, winning and inveigling away from
" you such as are flexible and wavering, thrusting
" you into odious employments and offices to supplant
" your reputation, abusing you, and feeding you with
" dalliances and demonstrations, to divert you from
" descending into the serious consideration of your
" own case; yea, and percase venturing you in
" perilous and desperate enterprizes. Herein it may
" please your L. to understand me; for I mean nothing
" less than that these things should be plotted and
" intended as in Her Majesty's royal mind towards
" you: I know the excellency of her nature too well.
" But I say, wheresoever the formerly described im-
" pression is taken in any king's breast towards a
" subject, these other recited inconveniences must of
" necessity of politic consequence follow; in respect
" of such instruments as are never failing about
" princes, which spy into their humors and conceits,

"and second them; and not only second them, but in "seconding increase them; yea, and many times, "without their knowledge, pursue them further than "themselves would.

"For the removing of the impression of your "nature to be opiniative and not rulable; first, and "above all things, I wish that all matters past, which "cannot be revoked, your L. would turn altogether "upon insatisfaction, and not upon your nature or "proper disposition. This string you cannot upon "every apt occasion harp upon too much. Next, "whereas I have noted you to fly and avoid the "resemblance or imitation of my Lord of Leicester, "and my Lord Chancellor Hatton; yet I am per- "suaded,—howsoever I wish your L. distant as you "are from them in points of magnanimity and merit, "favor and integrity,—that it will do you much "good between the Queen and you to allege them, "as often as you find occasion, for authors and "patterns. Thirdly, when at any time your L., "upon occasion, happen in speeches to do Her Majesty "right,—for there is no such matter as flattery "amongst you all,—I fear you handle it, *magis in "speciem adornatis verbis, quam ut sentire videaris.* "So that a man may read formality in your coun- "tenance; whereas, your L. should do it familiarly, "*et oratione fidâ.* Fourthly, your L. should never "be without some particulars afoot, which you should "seem to pursue with carnestness and affection; and "then let them fall upon taking note of Her Majesty's "opposition and dislike. Of which the weightiest

" sort may be if your L. offer to labor in the behalf " of some that you favor, for some of the places now " void; choosing such a subject as you think Her " Majesty is like to oppose unto; and if you will " say that this is *conjunctum cum alienâ injuriâ*, " I will not answer, *hæc non aliter constabunt;* but I " say, commendation from so good a mouth doth not " hurt a man though you prevail not. A less " weighty sort of particulars may be the pretence of " some journies, which, at Her Majesty's request, " your L. might relinquish; as if you would pretend " a journey to see your living and estate in Wales; " as for great foreign journies of employment and " service it standeth not with your gravity to play " or stratagem with them. And the lightest of par- " ticulars which yet are not to be neglected, are in " your habits, apparel, wearings, gestures, and the " like.

" The impression of greatest prejudice next, is " that of a military dependence, wherein, I cannot " sufficiently wonder at your L. course, that you " say, the wars are your occupation, and go in that " course; whereas, if I might have advised, your L. " should have left that person at Plymouth, more " than when in counsel or in commending fit persons " for service in wars it had been in season. And " here, my L., I pray mistake me not. I am not to " play now the part of a gownman that would frame " you best to mine own turn. I am infinitely glad " of this last journey now it is past; the rather, " because you may make so honourable a full point

" for a time. You have property good enough in " that greatness. There is none can of many years " ascend near you in competition. Besides, the " disposing of the places and affairs both, concerning " the wars, will of themselves flow to you, which " will preserve that dependence in full measure. " But I say, keep it in substance, but abolish it in " shews. For her Majesty loveth peace. Next, she " loveth not charge. Thirdly, that kind of depend- " ence maketh a suspected greatness. Therefore, " again, whereas I heard your L. designing to your- " self the Earl Marshal's place, or place of the " Master of the Ordnance, I did not, in my own " mind, so well like of either, because of their affinity " with a martial greatness. But of the places now " void I would name to you the place of Lord Privy " Seal. For first, it is the third person of the great " officers of the Crown. Next, it hath a kind of " superintendence over the Secretary. It also hath an " affinity with the Court of Wards, in regard of the " fees from the liveries. And it is a fine honor, " quiet place, and worth a thousand pounds by year. " My Lord Admiral's father had it, who was a martial " man. And it fits a favourite to carry Her Majesty's " image in seal, who beareth it best expressed in " heart. If you continue such intelligences as are " worth the cherishing; if you shall pretend to be " as bookish and contemplative as ever you were; " all these courses serve exceeding aptly to this " purpose. Whereunto I will add one expedient " *more, stronger than all the rest*; and that is, the

" bringing in of some martial man to be of the " Council, dealing directly with Her Majesty in it, " as for her service, and for your better assistance; " choosing, nevertheless, some person that may be " known not to come in against you by any former " division. I judge the fittest to be my Lord Mount- " joy, or my Lord Willoughby.

" The third impression is of a popular reputation, " which, because it is a thing good in itself, being " obtained as your L. obtained it, that is, *bonis ar-* " *tibus*, and besides well governed, is one of the " flowers of your greatness, both present and to " come; it should be handled tenderly. The only " way is to quench it *verbis*, and not *rebus;* and, " therefore, to take all occasions to the Queen to " speak against popularity and popular courses vehe- " mently, and to tax it in all others; but, neverthe- " less, to go on in your honorable commonwealth " courses as you do.

" The fourth impression of the inequality between " your estate of means and your greatness of respects, " is not to be neglected; for believe it my L., that, " till Her Majesty find you careful of your estate, " she will not only think you more like to continue " chargeable to her, but also have a conceit that you " have higher imaginations. For the fifth and last, " which is of the advantage of a favourite, as severed " from the rest it cannot hurt: so joined with them " it maketh Her Majesty more fearful and shadowy, " as not knowing her own strength. The only " remedy to this is to give way to some other

" favorite as in particular you shall find Her Majesty " inclined, so as the subject hath no ill nor dan- " gerous aspect towards yourself; for otherwise, who- " soever shall tell me you may not have singular use " of a favorite at your devotion, I will say he under- " standeth not the Queen's affection, nor your Lord- " ship's condition."

Excellent but impracticable advice! It was as impossible for Essex to disguise his feelings, and keep a guard over his language, as it would have been for his opponents to be open and sincere.

Yet he followed it in some points. When the government of the Brill became vacant, by the resignation of Lord Sheffield, Essex asked it for himself; and as it is unlikely he should have entertained any idea of going there, it probably was demanded with the view of giving way to the Queen, as advised by Bacon. Sir Francis Vere was appointed. It is not so clear that he resigned himself with satisfaction to the appointment of Lord Cobham[1] to the wardenship of the Cinque Ports some months later, in preference to his friend Sir Robert Sidney, though his own application for the place might have been a ruse.

The following letters show that he still kept up his foreign correspondence and intelligence, especially with Spain, from which country reports now began to arrive of great warlike preparations making in the ports of Ferroll and Corunna. A. Bacon writes to Dr. Hawkins on the 6th November, that there have

[1] Henry Brooke, succeeded his father as Lord Cobham the 6th March, 1597.

been alarms of the Spaniards speedy coming, ninety sail being already at the Groyne, and fifty more expected. "The Earl," says he, "hath been very ill "this week, and had a great fit of an ague, but, God "be thanked! is now rid of it, and hath received to-"day a very kind message from Her Majesty, who "hath charged him to spare his attendance from "Court till his perfect recovery."[1] A friendly letter from the French King and Mr. Reynolds' report to Bacon, of 13th November, follow.

No. CXIII.[2]

Essex to A. Bacon.

Sir,—I do write this to excuse my hasty and unmannerly coming away. I was so surprised with company, as I was glad to take coach and break loose. I was to visit my L. Willoughby and my Lady Russell, and yet to be at the Court in a good hour. How this could have been performed if I had suffered the tide to break in upon me, you may easily judge. I will ere this week end, come of purpose to see you, and will neither be known of coming beforehand, nor see any body else. Till then I send you my best wishes, and rest ever your true friend,

Richmond, this 13th October, 1596. R. ESSEX.

No. CXIV.[3]

Sir,—I purpose (God willing) to be in London this night: if it so fall out, I will visit you before my return to the Court. In the mean time I pray you will Wright to deliver you some more particulars concerning him that came lately from

[1] Bacon MSS. 660. 8. [2] Ibid. 659. 235. [3] Ibid.

Spain. And if he came lately, and be able to say anything of importance, he shall come to me both secretly and securely. I wish you all happiness, and rest your true friend,

Richmond, this 29th October, 1596. ESSEX.

No. CXV.[1]

Henry IV. to Essex.

Mon Cousin,—Je vous ai toujours éprouvé très-véritable en toutes choses, j'en puis dire encore autant sur le témoignage que vous m'avez donné par votre lettre de la bonté et vertu du Comte de Cherosbery[2], car il s'est conduit très-sagement et honorablement en exécution des commandements de la Reine ma bonne sœur, aux volontés de laquelle j'ai délibéré d'accomoder ci après tant qu'il me sera possible, les miennes et mes affaires, de façon qu'elle ait occasion de se louer et non se plaindre de notre nouvelle confedération, ni de notre ancienne amitié, en laquelle vous aurez toujours bonne part; car votre loyauté envers elle, et votre affection envers moi, vous ont acquis ce mérite lequel je reconnoitrai éternellement, comme vous dira ce dit Comte, à la fidélité duquel je me remets pour prier Dieu vous avoir, mon Cousin, en sa garde. Ce 25me Octobre (1596), à Rouen.

HENRY.

Mr. Reynolds writes, 13th November, 1596.

I delivered your letters to my Lord in the tilt-yard, where he hath been exercising himself all this morning on horseback, and there gave me commandment thus to answer the three points of your letter. To the first, which is a motion from the French Ambassador, for the increase of H. M. forces in France, for the better furtherance of that service: his L.

[1] Bacon MSS. 659. 243.

[2] The Earl of Shrewsbury went over to invest Henry IV. with the Order of the Garter.

will propose it to Her Majesty as soon as he cometh to the Court, and do the best office he can therein; whereby it may be effected, being desirous by all means to advance the good of the King's service. To the second point, for his meeting with Her Maj., his L. thinketh it better to attend her coming to London, where he may have fit time and opportunity to speak with her. But if his desire be to do this office; upon knowledge thereof, he will give order for horses for himself and his gentlemen for this purpose, which it may please you to signify unto me in convenient time. To the third point, he willed me to write only this, that he will satisfy you when he shall next see you. I did not see your letter, but those are his L. several answers, as near as I could conceive and mark them in such a troublesome place with so bad a pair of ears, being somewhat *surdaster*, and the more through a cold which I have taken.[1]

All appears to have been smooth sailing at Court till February, 1597, when the Earl had another fit of illness. On the 6th he was so private from indisposition that Reynolds could not have access to him; the Queen visited him that morning, which it was hoped would prove the best physic, and do more good than all the doctors. This was followed by an indisposition of a different kind. R. White writes on the 25th: "Full "fourteen days hath my L. of Essex kept his cham- "ber: Her Majesty, as I heard, resolved to break "him of his will, and pull down his great heart; "who found it a thing impossible, and says he holds "it from the mother's side; but all is well again, "and no doubt he will grow a mighty man in our

[1] Bacon MSS. 660. 38.

"state."[1] Essex gave out that he should make a journey into Wales, which did not seem to surprise Mr. White, who says, "truly he leads here a very unquiet life."

On his return from the Cadiz voyage, Essex, instead of renewing the intrigues with certain ladies of the Court, which had caused so much anger to the Queen and scandal to some of his moral friends, assumed an entirely new character; he became sober, religious, and devoted to his wife; regularly attending prayers and preachings, and using language so replete with moral sentiments, with humility and self-distrust, as greatly to edify the astonished courtiers.

Anthony Bacon writes on the 7th September, "that the Queen used the Earl most graciously, and "will, no doubt, more and more, by God's goodness, "so long as he continues his Christian zealous "courses, which he hath begun since his return, not "missing preaching or prayers in the Court, and "showing true noble kindness towards his virtuous "spouse, entirely without any diversion."[2]

Whatever portion of this new character might have been assumed, Essex never was wanting in affection to his wife, who was an excellent woman, devoted to her husband, and of mind and attainments that fitted her to be his companion. That he was not always faithful to her bed must needs be ad-

[1] Sidney Mem. ii. 19. In the same letter Mr. White writes, "my Lady Rich is recovered of her small-pox, without any blemish to her beautiful face."

[2] Bacon MSS. 669. 164.

mitted; indeed, in those days, such constancy seems scarcely to have been expected of a husband. The belief was not universal in the reform of the Earl's morals; and it having come to Lady Bacon's ears that he had renewed a former intrigue with one of the Ladies of the Court, she wrote to him on the 1st December, 1596. After expressing with what joy she had heard that, since his return, God had wrought a change in his mind, before inclined to work carnal dalliance, she proceeds: "But, *proh dolor!* my Lord, "I perceive that, of late, a backsliding to the foul im- "pudent doth plainly appear; and though they did "marvel, and much blame your dishonourable, and "dangerous to yourself, coursetaking, to the infaming "a nobleman's wife, and so near about Her Majesty, "yet she was utterly condemned as too bad, both "unchaste and impudent, with, as it were, an incor- "rigible unshamefacedness. The Lord speedily, by "his grace, amend her, or cut her off before some "sudden mischief. It hath already made her ancient "noble husband to undo his house by selling as one "out of comfort. But if a desperate rage, as com- "monly, followeth, he will revenge his provoked "jealousy and most intolerable injury even despe- "rately, and the more, because it is said he loveth "her, and greatly, as with grief, laboreth to win her. "It is great pity she is not delivered to him, and the "Court cleansed by sending away such an unchaste "gaze and common by-word, in respect of her place "and husband. But you, my good Lord, have not "so learned Christ, and heard his holy word. In the

" iv ch. 1 Thess. 3, 4, 5 verses, it is written: *This is* " *the will of God, that ye should be holy, and abstain* " *from fornication, and every one to know how to keep* " *his own vessel in holiness and honor, and not in the* " *lust of concupiscence, as the Gentiles do, who know* " *not God.*" And more, if it please you to read and " mark well, it is a heavy threat *that fornicators and* " *adulterers God will judge*, and that they shall be " shut out; for such things, says the apostle, com- " monly cometh the wrath of God upon us. Good " Lord, remember and consider your great danger " hereby both of soul and body. Grieve not the " Holy Spirit of God, but honor God that honored " you, and reward him not with such evil for his " great kindness towards you. Good, my Lord, sin " not against your own soul.

" My Lady Stafford said, the good virtuous " Countess your wife was with child.[1] Oh honor- " able and valiant noble, make great account of this " God's blessing to you both, and make not her heart " sorrowful to the hindrance of her young fruit " within her; for it is thought she took before to " heart, and that her last did not comfortably " prosper. Be strong in the Lord, your and our " good patient God. Fear him, and walk privately " in his truth, and for his promise in Christ he will " assist you, and look favorably upon you and yours; " which mercy and grace I humbly do, as I am most

[1] This child did not live. In the latter part of December, Lord Henry Howard wrote a letter of condolence to Essex on the miscarriage of Lady Essex, or the death of the infant.

" bound, call upon him to grant you ever, my dear " Lord and worthy Lord in Christ Jesu. With my " very inward have I presumed thus ill-favoredly to " scribble."[1]

The pious and venerable Lady becomes eloquent and pathetic in her anxiety for the welfare of her son's benefactor. In the light in which it was intended did Essex receive this letter, which some persons might have thought an unwarrantable interference. He answered the same day that he received it.

No. CXVI.[2]

Essex to Lady Bacon.

Madam,—That it pleased you to deal thus freely with me, in letting me know the worst you hear of me, I take it as a great argument of love's favour, in sending so good an angel to admonish; and of no small care in your ladyship of my well-doing. I know how needful these summons are to all men, especially to those that live in this place. And I had rather, with the poor publican, knock my breast and lie prostrate, and confess, when I have done all I can, I am an unprofitable servant, than pharisaically to justify myself. But what I write now is for the truth's sake, and not for mine own. I protest, before the majesty of God, and my protestation is voluntary and advised, that this charge which is newly laid upon me is false and unjust; and that, since my departure from England towards Spain, I have been free from taxation of incontinency with any woman that lives. I never saw or spoke with the lady you mean, but in public places, and others being seers and hearers, who, if they

[1] Bacon MSS. 660. 108. [2] Ibid. 188.

would do me right, could justify my behaviour. But I live in a place where I am hourly conspired against, and practised upon. What they cannot make the world believe, that they persuade themselves unto; and what they cannot make probable to the Queen, that give they out to the world. They have almost all the house to serve them for instruments. Yea, the very oracles, I mean those that are accounted to be plain and sincere, do Φιλιππίζειν, do speak the largest language of the strongest faction. Plutarch taught me long since to make profit of my enemies; but God teacheth it me much better now. Worthy Lady, think me a weak man, full of imperfections; but be assured I do endeavour to be good, and had rather mend my faults than cover them. I wish your Ladyship all true happiness, and rest at your Ladyship's commandment,

Burn, I pray you. 1st December, 1596. R. ESSEX.

During the latter part of February, 1597, Sir Walter Ralegh had frequent private conferences with the Earl of Essex, as mediator, it was said, of a peace between the Earl and Sir Robert Cecyll, which was looked upon as likely to be very agreeable to the Queen and advantageous to the public service. On the strength of this truce, Essex obtained leave from the Queen to go to Wales, and was to have left the Court on Monday, the 7th March, for Wigmore Castle, and so to Ragland, for three weeks, when the death of the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Cobham, obliged him to defer it. He applied for the Cinque Ports, which became vacant, but the Queen refused, telling him she meant to give the place to the new Lord Cobham, who, as Henry Brooke, had always been one of Essex's most earnest adversaries at

Court. He then determined to prosecute his journey, and on the morning of the 10th, his horses and servants being ready, went to speak with the Lord Treasurer before starting; he was met by Mr. Killegrew near Somerset House, who summoned him instantly to the Queen: at his waiting upon her she gave him the appointment of Master of the Ordnance.[1] It was not until June that the Warden of the Cinque Ports was appointed, when Lord Cobham obtained the place in preference to Sir Robert Sidney.

At the end of March, Essex was desirous to resume his deferred journey into Wales, but the Queen heard him on the subject with great impatience, and was very much offended at the motion. Edward Reynolds heard that the Queen used him with great respect, and sought more to give contentment to Essex than he to her, and truly says he, "I fear that his L. is "wearied, and scorneth the practices and dissembling "courses of this place, and therefore desireth to "solace himself, and by degrees to discontinue, and "so to retire from among them."[2] The general opinion was, that the Queen would not allow him to go away. Here Essex was clearly following the advice of Francis Bacon, in making a pretence of journeys to be relinquished at the Queen's desire.

There was a great deal of secret intrigue and negotiation going on at this time, the objects of which it is not easy to unravel. While Essex was confined with illness, Sir R. Cecyll was "passing

[1] The patent was signed the 18th March.
[2] Bacon MSS. 656. 14. 25th March, 1597.

"most part of the day in secret conference with the "Queen;" Ralegh was negotiating between Essex and the Secretary; Sir George Carew, who was of the Cecyll party, had several interviews with Mr. A. Bacon. Then, to the surprise of all the world, Essex and Cecyll were seen going together in a coach to Essex House, where they were met by Ralegh; the three dined together, and afterwards held secret conference for a matter of three hours. What passed we know not, but the result was a great show of friendship for the time between Cecyll and Essex, while the latter offered no opposition to, if he did not assist in, the restoration of Ralegh to Her Majesty's good favour, and the exercise of his office[1] about her person. The Earl was commanded to give his opinion, in writing, on the subject of Spanish affairs. It was supposed by his adherents, that the drift of the other faction, was to draw him in to offer himself as commander in a new voyage, "which, indeed, needed no rhetorical "persuasions, his own mind being a spur to him;" but he was too well advised to push himself prominently forward, and he appeared to take no particular interest in the matter. A small fleet, of ten of the Queen's ships, and a like number from the Low Countries, had been prepared, to go to the Spanish coast under Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Ralegh; but the intelligence of the great armaments preparing in Ferroll and Corunna, under the Adelantado of Castile, being confirmed before their departure, the Council decided that this squadron was too large

[1] Captain of the Yeomen Guard.

for observation, and too small for an attempt against the enemy. It was then resolved that six ships of war should be added to the fleet, with transports to carry 5000 troops, when they would be able to attack any port in Spain. The Lord Admiral excusing himself from the command, on account of his years and ill health, the Earl of Essex was ordered, towards the end of May, to undertake the charge.

On the 1st June he went to Chatham, to inspect and hasten the fitting of the ships there. During his absence, but with his approval, Sir Walter Ralegh was admitted to the royal presence, graciously received and restored to the command of the Yeomen Guard, from which, for five years, he had been banished, in consequence of his intrigue with Elizabeth Throckmorton, a maid of honour, subsequently married to him.

There was great appearance of friendship and kindness at this period between the Earl of Essex and Lord Burghley, "and with the rest of that tribe;" and all furtherance given to his desires for expediting the preparations for the voyage then in hand.

Towards the end of June, the English fleet was assembled in the Downs, where they were joined by the Low Countries squadron, and the English troops drawn from Holland, under the command of Sir Francis Vere. This officer was extremely discontented at Lord Mountjoy being appointed Lieutenant General; Essex endeavoured to satisfy him, by the assurance that Mountjoy's appointment was made by the Queen. Vere replied, that he was not so ignorant of his

Lordship's power, as to believe that any body could be thrust upon him against his will, and desired that Essex would never again make use of his services in any action. Essex, conceiving that this was a mere outburst of passion, took no farther notice of it; but Vere never forgave the affront.

A regular series of letters from Essex to the Queen, at this time, giving an account daily, and sometimes twice a day, of his progress towards Plymouth, where the entire force was to assemble, are of remarkable interest: if "formality," as Francis Bacon said, were visible in his countenance, when he made flattering speeches to the Queen, certainly none is to be found in his letters, which are as warm as she could have desired.

No. CXVII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Your spirit I do invoke, my most dear and most admired Sovereign, to assist me, that I may express that humblest and most due thankfulness, and that high and true joy which upon the reading of your Maj. letter my poor heart hath conceived. Upon your spirit, I say, I call, as only powerful over me, and by his infinite virtue only able to express infinite things. Or if I be too weak an instrument to be inspired with such a gift, or that words be not able to interprete for me, then to your royal dear heart I appeal, which, without my words, can fully and justly understand me. Heavens and earth shall witness for me. I will strive to be worthy of so high a grace and so blessed a happiness. Be pleased there-

[1] Hulton MSS.

fore, most dear Queen, to be ever thus gracious, if not for my merit, yet for your own constancy. And so you shall bestow all those happinesses, which in the end of your letter you are pleased to wish; and then, if I may hear your Maj. is well and well pleased, nothing can be ill with your Maj. humblest and most affectionate vassal,

Sandwich, this 23rd June. ESSEX.

No. CXVIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady, — For your Maj. high and precious favors, namely, for sending this worthy knight to deliver your blessing to this fleet and army, but above all other for your Maj. bestowing on me that fair angel which you sent to guard me; for these, I say, I neither can write words to express my humble thankfulness, nor perform service fit to acknowledge such duty as for these I owe. For whatsoever I could be able to do as your Maj. servant, subject, creature, and humble vassal, I did owe it and a great deal more before. But as I am tied to your Maj. by more ties than ever was subject to a prince, so I will strive to be worthy of your gracious favor with more industry than ever did man upon this earth, for my industry and my humble affection will be, as my duty, an obligation ever infinite, which I most humbly beseech your Maj. to believe of your Maj. humblest and most affectionate vassal,

Sandwich, this 25th June. ESSEX.

The fair angel alluded to was, doubtless, her portrait, or a ring having her likeness.

[1] Hulton MSS.

CXIX.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Be pleased, most dear and most excellent Sovereign, to know that my yesternight's not writing to your dear self, when I despatched away my man with an account what became of your Maj. fleet and army, grew out of that dulness and indisposition which overwatching and cold had brought me to. Now this day keeping in hath restored me to my former health, which shall, by the grace of God, enable me to take up my former industry. I have here all your Maj. fleet, saving the Warspight and the Antelope, which ride at Dungen Nesse, and were put back thither when they were almost as high as the Wight. The cause of their going before was Sir Walter Ralegh's employment to see all things ready for us at Portland. The fleet of the Low Countries is all come, saving two ships of war and four fly-boats for transportation. I hope the first wind will both bring them, and send us on our way. In the mean time, as stormy as this day hath been, we have not been idle, for the fly-boats that came out of the Low Countries have been taking in their victual.

Pardon me, dear Lady, that I entertain you with this argument, which I would not do if I wrote to anybody but to yourself, for you I have a fitter argument, if my wit were now a fit interpreter to my love. This is sent hastily, but with infinite duty, and most affectionate humble wishes from your Maj. creature and vassal,

From the Downs, this 27th June. ESSEX.

[1] Hulton MSS.

No. CXX.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear and most excellent Sovereign,—The comfort your Maj. gives me, not only in your gracious sending and honouring, and blessing me with your own handwriting, but your most favourable interpretation of all my poor endeavours in your Maj. service, and your Maj. taking knowledge of them, and uttering your gracious conceit of your poor servant; these high and precious favors, I say, do tie me to so infinite duty, and do stir me to so due acknowledgment, as I am out of charity with my dull wit and weak words, for that they cannot express what my heart conceives. But I hope God will enable me, by my service, to satisfy some part of your Maj. expectation, yea, more than my heart can conceive, for God is greater than the heart. And as for the fugitive by whom it pleaseth your Maj. to send me word, you were informed of my poor pains, I assure your Maj. his coming put a great deal of life into the fleet and army, and that alacrity he showed, and contentment he received amongst the men of war, won him a great deal both of honour and good will, and made many think that, as he serves a mistress whose fame and virtues do emulate in all men's opinions, and in mine own pass Eumenes' master's, so he will a little sympathise with Eumenes' martial qualities, and in other I know your Majesty is so well pleased with him as Alexander was with Eumenes. Be pleased, dear Lady, to send the news of your happy being by this bearer, and receive the humble and most zealous wishes of your Majesty's humblest and most affectionate vassal,

From the Downs, this 28th June. R. ESSEX.

[1] Hulton MSS.

No. CXXI.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear and most excellent Sovereign,—You may think, when your Majesty sees this honest bearer come back before his time appointed, that there is some extraordinary cause of his sudden despatch. But when your Maj. hath heard all which from your poor vassal he hath commission to lay before you, I hope your Majesty will acquit him for coming, and us for sending him in this haste. By my next your Maj. shall know how your fleet parts hence. This is only to commend my true, humble, and infinite zeal to your Maj. gracious thoughts, for, though never man did less satisfy himself in being able to express the true devotion of his heart, yet never heart was so inflamed with humble and affectionate zeal. Dear Lady, concern your poor vassal in your gracious thoughts, and know me to be the most your own of all your Maj. creatures. R. ESSEX.

Dear Lady, cherish the worthy parts and true devotion of my kind cousin, and your own creature, Fulk Greville.

Weymouth, this 6th July.

Besides these letters to the Queen, Essex also corresponded with Sir Robert Cecyll, to whom he writes from Dungeness, on the 2nd July.

"The blessed time is not yet come, in which the "wind will favour us. I have these two or three "days plied against the wind with as great obstinacy "as I could, though I had the wind continually blow "in my teeth; and this morning, I was gotten almost "as high as Beechy, in Sussex, but by two o'clock it

[1] Hulton MSS.

" blew so much wind, as, if I had continued plying, I " should have made all our small pinnaces and fly- " boats bear their topmasts by the board, though " with the Queen's ships I could have stopped tides. " Wherefore, chusing rather to go to a safe anchor- " ing place before it was night, than in the night to " be put I knew not whither, or with a disorderly " coming to an anchor among so many Dutch skip- " pers, I have worne and came to ride under Dungeon " Nesse; whither I have brought the whole fleet, God " be thanked! very safe, only the Rear-Admiral of the " Low Countries bare his maintopmast by the board."[1]

At Portland a portion of the troops, which had assembled there under Sir Christopher Blount, was received on board the fleet.

No. CXXII.[2]

Essex to Cecyll.

Sir,—I do forthwith, upon the receipt of what this bearer brought, despatch him back again, that Her Maj. may know her fleet and army is come safe to Portland. I hope, also, that we see in sight those Low Country ships that were missing, for we see just the number coming after us. Whether they come or not, I hope, by God's favour, to-morrow early to set sail for Cawsand Bay. I will, as soon as I have met with my other posts, send one after this gentleman with a larger despatch. In the mean time, I pray you, let Her Maj. know, the Mere Honor's leak is less rather than greater, and by all the masters judged to be no inconvenience. If it should increase, I will send her home. But I should be

[1] S. P. O. [2] Ibid.

very sorry for it, for I account her the best part of this fleet. I do lay up most faithfully Her Majesty's gracious dear care, and will not this year be weary of my life, when I am so happy in her precious favor. And thus wishing you all happiness, I rest your very affectionate and assured friend,

Portland, this Wednesday evening. ESSEX.

We may rest assured, from the tone of this and other letters to Cecyll at this period, that Essex did really consider the Secretary's professions of friendship to be sincere. The contrast in style between these letters and those to the Queen is very striking.

No. CXXIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear and most excellent Sovereign,—I received your gracious letter full of princely care, of sweetness, and of power to enable your poor vassal to all duties and services that flesh and blood can perform. I received this dear letter, I say, as I was under sail, coming with your Maj. fleet into the road of Portland. And because I think it will be welcome news to your Maj., that we are all with safety thus far advanced, I send the gentleman whom your Maj. despatched to me forthwith back again. By whom, if I could express my soul's humble, infinite, and perfect thankfulness for so high favors as your Maj. five dear tokens, both the watch, the thorn, and, above all, the angel which you sent to guard me, for your Maj. sweet letters indited by the spirit of spirits; if, for this I say, I could express fit thankfulness, I would strain my wits to perform it. But till God in time make my poor endeavours and services my witnesses, I must hope your Maj. will conceive, in your royal

[1] Hulton MSS.

breast, that which my weak words cannot signify. So shall you do justly as you ever used to do, and so shall you bless and make happy your Maj. humble vassal, whose soul is poured out with most earnest, faithful, and more than most affectionate wishes,

Portland Road, this 6th July. ESSEX.

At Weymouth, Essex reconciled Sir Walter Ralegh and Sir Francis Vere, who had quarrelled during the voyage of the year before.

No. CXXIV.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady,—This bearer carries your Majesty news that, the same day that I came hither, I have shipped all your Maj. soldiers that came to this rendezvouz; and ordered the rest of the Low Country ships, which are now all come. I was ready to set sail, and saw I lacked 500, which disorderly do loiter ashore, and now lack boats to bring them away. I will now, in the dead of the night, get all the boats of your Maj. fleet, and fetch them at once, for by the grace of God mine eyes shall not shut till I be with your Maj. whole fleet on my way to Plymouth. I most humbly beseech your Maj. haste away this bearer with news of your dearest self's happy being, and then you shall revive my dulled if not worn spirits. The next anchoring place will, I hope, give me a time when my brain will be in better temper to protest my dearest, faithful, and infinite affection, which ties me to be more your Maj. own than any living can be.

6th July, at midnight. ESSEX.

The next letter gives an interesting account of the dangers they experienced from a thunder-storm,

[1] Hulton MSS.

and other moving accidents, prior to their arrival at Plymouth.

No. CXXV.[1]

The Council of War to the Lords of the Council.

Our very good Lords,—We send this packet to inform your LL. of God's exceeding great blessing of Her Majesty's fleet and army, and of our safe arrival at Plymouth. We call it an extraordinary and exceeding blessing to send us all so safe hither; for, first, the St. Matthew, which was, by me the General, licensed to come before, at the request of Sir Geo. Carew, struck upon a rock in coming into the Sound of Plymouth, and stuck upon it three hours, and yet came off again safe, and hath no leak, nor other hurt, that we can by any means discover. Next, as with the fleet we were thwart of the Bolt, three leagues short of Plymouth, a sudden storm took us with infinite lightning and thunder, and more wind than ever almost in summer hath been seen on our coast, the night extremely dark, but when the flashes of lightning came, and the wind, as the storm ceased, shifted from the E.N.E. to the E.S.E., which blew us towards the lee shore, and yet God so blessed us as we cannot hear of so much as a boat miscarried. All Her Majesty's ships are here save the Antelope, which went a day before us, and, as we hear, put into Dartmouth the day before the storm came. The greatest hurt in the fleet was in the Mere Honor, for when she and the Rear-Admiral, with the rear-guard of the fleet, were driven to anchor, lest we should have been put to leeward of Plymouth, she drave when she had put out three great anchors, and the first anchor put out brake in the midst, but, God be thanked! the other two held. The Vice-admiral with another part of the fleet stood off into the

[1] S. P. O.

sea, and the headmost men of all had made ere night the entrance of the Sound, and so stood in without anchoring or standing off. This we thought our duties to advertise, that Her Majesty's royal heart may receive comfort of the difference of her success and that of her enemies in like case, and that she may know her excellent prayers for her people's preservation are heard above. Now we will with all possible expedition despatch away hence, which, when we are ready to set sail, Her Majesty and your LL. shall be advertised of particularly. In the mean time we commend your good LL. to God's best protection, and rest humbly at your LL. commandment,

ESSEX.
T. HOWARD.
C. MOUNTJOYE.
W. RALEGH.
F. VERE.
CHR. BLOUNT.

From the Sound of Plymouth, this 8th of July, this present Friday.

The duplicate instructions given to Essex, under the sign manual, are in the State Paper Office, dated the 15th day of June, 1597.

The preamble states that, having appointed him, under the great seal, Lieutenant General and Admiral of the Navy and Army, appointed for this service, it was fit he should understand the causes which had moved Her Majesty to send out this expedition. That it was publicly known, that the King of Spain had been preparing a great force since the last year, and that it was intended to assist the rebels in Ireland, and to make an invasion on some part of the

coast of England, and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey; also to attempt the taking of Brest, from whence he might, with greater facility, descend upon the English coast; that this force was assembled at Ferroll, whither Essex was to proceed, and destroy the enemy's fleet by fire or other means, but not to endanger any of the English ships, by suffering them to enter the ports of Spain. Should the enemy's fleet have sailed, he was to follow and destroy them wherever they might be. After executing this service, he was to endeavour to intercept the East and West India fleets returning to Spain, and if the said fleets had taken shelter in any of those islands, he was to assail the said places by sea and by land. Which services being performed, he was directed to return home before winter.

For his assistance, the following were named councillors of war:

Lord Thomas Howard, Vice Admiral;
Sir Walter Ralegh, Rear Admiral;
Sir Francis Vere, Marshal;
Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance;
Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Serjeant Major;

these five in respect of their offices; also that noble wise man, the Lord Mountjoye, who also should be his Lieutenant of the army. If, after mature consideration, and without danger to the garrison so left, it should appear advantageous, a garrison might be left to maintain the island of Terceira for the Queen.

The instructions end as follows: "And now that we "have directed all these things in our power as your "Sovereign on earth, and cannot but consider that all "things else are in God's hands, which belong to life "and death, or whatsoever within compass of ima- "gination; although we hope Almighty God will bless "both you and us in you all, with safety to return "for our contentment; yet must we not forbear, "according to like custom in like cases, hereby also "to give you commandment and authority, if by "sickness or death, which the Lord prevent, with "his holy hand, you should do otherwise than well, "to our no small grief and loss, that then our right "trusty and well beloved the Lord Thomas Howard "shall be acknowledged our Admiral by sea, and the "right trusty and well beloved the Lord Mountjoye "our General by land; and both they to govern and "direct themselves according to our instructions "given you and them in all cases whatsoever."

The armament of which the Earl of Essex was Commander-in-chief by land and sea, consisted of 120 ships, of which 17 were large ships of war of the Queen, 10 Dutch, 43 smaller ships of war, and the remainder belonging, some to the noblemen volunteers in the expedition, the rest to London, and other ports of the kingdom. They had embarked 6000 troops, with ten pieces of artillery: the whole were victualled for four months.[1]

[1] The same authorities are generally made use of in this voyage as in that of the preceding year, in addition to the Earl's own despatches on this occasion. Sir Francis Vere's account is in Harl. MSS. 1344. 13.

The other principal officers were,

Lord Thomas Howard, Vice Admiral;
Sir Walter Ralegh, Rear Admiral;
Chas. Lord Mountjoye, Lieutenant General;
Sir Francis Vere, Marshal;
Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance;
Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Serjeant Major;
Sir Christ. Blount, Colonel General of Foot;
Sir Oliver Lambert, Quarter Master;
Sir Hugh Beeston, Treasurer;

The Earls of Rutland, Southampton, Lords Audley, Gray, Rich, Cromwell, Windsor[1], and many Knights and Gentlemen, with their followers amounting to 500 in number, served as volunteers.

The Earl wrote a farewell to the Queen while getting under weigh.

No. CXXVI.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

How an overwatched poor man shall answer at the instant of his going out, when his care must intend many things at once, how one in this case shall answer your Maj. most

[1] George Touchet, eleventh Lord Audley; he was created, 1617, Earl of Castlehaven.

Thomas, Lord Grey de Wilton, attainted for his share in Ralegh's plot, 1603; he died in the Tower, 1614.

Robert, third Lord Rich, Essex's brother-in-law; he was created Earl of Warwick, 1618; died, 1619.

Henry, third Lord Cromwell, great-grandson of Thomas C., Earl of Essex; died, 1607.

Henry, fifth Lord Windsor, he served also in Ireland with Essex, and sat on his trial; died, 1605.

[2] Hulton MSS.

gracious and excellent letters, my poor thoughts cannot conceive. Your Maj. just thoughts must right your poor vassal in knowing that infinite, pure, and humble affection to be borne for you, which words cannot express. And that infinite love which I bear your Maj. makes me now love myself for your favor's sake. And, therefore, be secure, dear Lady, that I will be as useful to bring myself home to you, as you would have me be. For the leak which your Maj. hath heard of, I called, upon your Maj. letters, my master and the carpenters of my ship, and bad them make me know the best and worst of it, that I might make your Majesty acquainted with your ship's state, and resolve what to do with her. They have assured me that it is a certain leak which increaseth not a stroke, and cannot be stopped till the ship be brought aground. But for danger they assured me, upon their lives, there was none; for if it should increase, which they did not fear, yet they would, at all times, carry her safe home. For your Maj. blessed, wise, and magnanimous resolution to increase our store with a month's victual, we have praised God, first on our knees, for inspiring your royal heart with it; and next, given that acknowledgment, and that glory, which is due to yourself. And for the better furthering of your Maj. service in it, we have sent back Mr. Darrell to both help the providing of it, and to come along with it. For the counsel which your Maj. now doubts whether it were well undertaken or no, because of some objections that easterly winds are rare in July, we do beseech your Maj. to consider of the other side how rare it is to see storms in July, which only kept us back, and that for easterly and northerly winds they are the commonest winds that are in fair summer weather, though, as the seamen call it, in the day we must look commonly for a sea turn. But that is the weather which we would be proud of, though now, God be thanked! we have a wind both fresh and large. Therefore,

dear Lady, since the action is your own, grieve not your poor servants with seeming to repent, though some others should shew inconstancy in their opinions. And for the action, I do now, upon this grant of supply, if your Maj. command diligence to be used, I do confidently believe this year will exceedingly increase your Maj. glory and greatness. For our numbers, I do, upon my duty to your Maj., protest and avow, that I have, in the hearing of all your commanders, by sea and land, charged the captains, upon their lives, to carry not a man above their list, and the list is but of 5000, officers and all. By Sir Robt. Crosse I will send your Maj. a list of both the fleet and army, which, to my knowledge, shall be precisely true, upon my salvation. As to your Maj. commandment, not to take your pensioners that steal down, I have given warning to all the captains of my squadron, not to carry any of them, and have willed my Lord Thomas and Sir Walter Ralegh to do the like in theirs. Two I saw, and commanded away. There are, as I hear, some others lingering hereabout, but I hope your Maj. shall find they are not harbored here. Of your Maj. leave to Sir Ed. Wingfield, Mr. Vavasor, Harvy, Chr. Blunt, and Reynolds, I knew. I had turned back Captain St. John, though he brought the Surry company with great charge to himself; but he told me his going was allowed of by your Maj., and that my Lord Chamberlain, his captain, knew it. Thus forced to end, my way and that of this bearer being so contrary, I humbly kiss your royal fair hands, and pour out my soul in passionate zealous wishes of all true joys to the dear heart of your Maj., which must know me to be your Maj. humblest and devoutest vassal,

ESSEX.

Setting sail from Plymouth, this 10th of July.

CHAPTER XV.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX—*continued.*

THE FLEET PUT TO SEA.—IS FORCED BY HEAVY WESTERLY GALES TO PUT BACK.—ESSEX'S CORRESPONDENCE ON HIS RETURN.—CECYLL'S ACCOUNT OF THE AUDIENCE OF THE POLISH ENVOY.—THE FLEET IS REFITTED.—WHEN READY FOR SEA, IS DETAINED BY ADVERSE WINDS.—SAILS 17TH AUGUST.—PROCEEDINGS AT FERROLL.—COAST OF PORTUGAL.—AZORES.—PARTS COMPANY WITH RALEGH, WHO REJOINS AT FLORES.—RALEGH ENDEAVOURS TO GAIN DISTINCTION AT THE EXPENSE OF ESSEX.—THE PLATE FLEET ESCAPES.—TERCEIRA TOO STRONG TO BE ATTEMPTED.—THE FLEET RETURNS HOME.—DISPLEASURE OF THE QUEEN.—THE BLAME OF FAILURE THROWN ON ESSEX, WHO IS JUSTIFIED BY SIR FRANCIS VERE.—ESSEX RETIRES FROM COURT TO WANSTEAD.

As usual in similar cases, the activity of the chief imparted itself to his subordinates, and no time was lost after the assembly of the whole fleet at the rendezvous in Plymouth Sound. The necessary arrangements and preparations were soon completed, and on the 10th July they put to sea full of high hopes, too soon, alas! to be daunted by the misfortunes of the voyage. From "thwart of Ushant," on the 12th, Essex wrote to Cecyll, that on sailing on Sunday they had the wind large, but little of it, till that night toward morning, when it blew up very hard from E.N.E., and "all Monday we had a great storm and a rough "sea, but, God be thanked! we kept the fleet well "together, for I fitted sail to the fleet. My course

" was all yesterday morning S.S.E., in the P. M.
" South, because I would haul off our own coast, and
" through the midst of the channel. Yesternight in
" the evening the wind calmed, but the sea kept up
" still. After dark the wind blew a good stiff gale
" at N.E. by N., and we steered away S.W. by S.
" before the wind; towards day the wind dulled, and
" came first to W.N.W., after to W., and is now
" W. by S., so as we stand close by the wind, and
" the water is smooth; we make our way good South
" at the least. Now we are gotten thus far I hope, in
" God, we shall have one slant or other to set us on
" where we would be. This foul weather past hath
" saved me a day's victual, for of a dozen that were
" wont to take with me, I have had very few: but
" Tom Germaine and Alex. Ratcliffe's stomachs never
" fail them."[1]

These hopes of a slant were doomed to be disappointed, for on that very day commenced the disasters of this ill-starred voyage. The wind which backed to the S.W. soon increased to a heavy gale; the weak-built vessels of that age, towering to a great height above the sea, and loaded to the summit with ordnance, laboured frightfully, some springing leaks, others carrying away masts; the greater part of the fleet were forced to put back. Sir Walter Ralegh had parted company on the night of the 11th, owing, as he said, to his shortening sail to keep company with the Matthew and Andrew. As the same accident occurred to him afterwards, and he showed his

[1] S. P. O.

jealousy of being under the command of Essex, it is probable that he intended to part company. He proceeds in a letter to Cecyll on the 18th July:—"On "Tuesday morning, myself, the Bonaventure, Mat- "thew, and Andrew were together, and steered for "the North Cape[1], not doubting but to meet the "fleet within six hours: the wind changed to the "South and blew vehemently, so we put ourselves "under our fore-courses, and stood to the West "into the sea; but on Wednesday we perceived "the Matthew to labor very vehemently, and that "she could not endure that manner of standing "off, and put herself atry under her main course, "which I did also the better to hold her. Notwith- "standing, in the morning, I lost sight of them and "divers fly-boats, the Bonaventure alone keeping "company: the storm grew more forcible, the seas "grew very exceeding lofty, but the Thursday, "Friday, and Saturday the storm so increased, the "ships being weighty and the ordnance great, and "the billows so raised and enraged as we could carry "out no sail, which to our judgment would not have "been rent off the yards by the wind: and yet our "ships rolled so vehemently and so disquieted them- "selves; in my ship it hath shaken all her beams, "knees, and stancheons asunder, insomuch that on "Saturday night we made account to have yielded "our souls up to God—our ship so open every where, "all her bulkheads rent, her very cook-room of bricks "shaken down into powder."[2]

[1] Cape Ortegal.

[2] S. P. O.

Not less graphic is Essex's account. He says, "When most extreme storms and contrary winds "met with us, we beat it up till all our fleet was "scattered, and many of our ships in desperate case; "and because I, the General, thought my too soon "giving over would not only deprive the fleet of our "principal ship, but absolutely defeat the journey, I "forced my company, first, to abide the continual "abiding of a most dangerous leak, which I made "light of, because I saw that with labor of men I "could free the ship as fast as the leak did grow; "secondly, I made them to endure the cracking of "both my main and foremasts, the one in two places, "the other in three, so as we still looked when they "would be carried by the board; which was not "enough to make me bear up, because I knew, when-"soever I should lose them both, I could with jury "masts, by God's favor, carry the ship home; and at "last I tarried so long till my ship's okam came all "out, her seams opened, her decks and upper works "gave way, and her very timbers and main beams, "with her laboring, did tear like laths, so as we "looked hourly when the orlop would fall, and the "ordnance sink down to the leak; then did those few "whom before I had won to stand with me say, that "if I did not within a minute of an hour bear up the "helm, I did wilfully cast away the ship and whole "company; then only did I suffer myself to be over-"come: and when I came to Plymouth, half Her "Majesty's ships, and more than half her principal

" officers, by sea and land, were put in before me, by " reason of the extremity their ships were in."[1]

Essex put into Falmouth, from whence he wrote to the Queen to announce the misfortune, and then hearing of the arrival in Plymouth of Sir Walter Ralegh and others, rode over to that place, leaving his ship, which was so much damaged that she was unable to prosecute the voyage, and was sent to Chatham to be rebuilt. He found that all the ships required repair; some wanted their masts fished, others had leaks to stop; and, on the 23rd, he wrote to Cecyll, excusing the necessity which compelled them to be still in port, and wondering that they had not received a line from him, Sir Walter Ralegh having written on Monday, and it being then Saturday in the evening.

In ten days they had repaired damages, and were ready for another start, though with reduced means, for much of the provisions had been injured by sea water; while many of the " young gentlemen, seeing " that the boisterous winds, and merciless sea, had " neither affinity with London delicacy nor court " bravery," retired, without taking leave of their friends, or bidding farewell to the General.

No. CXXVII.[2]

Essex to Cecyll.

Sir,—In haste, in passion, and yet in hope of change of fortune, I send this bearer to acquaint Her Maj. with the

[1] Harl. MSS. 36. 419. [2] S. P. O.

state of her poor servant, and with as much news as I know of the fleet. When you have heard him, then believe me that yet all shall go well; the difference is, that the childbirth of our success is with show of danger, and more than ordinary panic. Excuse me, I pray you, to yourself and to all the world, for I can satisfy nobody, nor myself, till I be again, in other men's opinions, in as hopeful a course as I am in mine own now, when things are at the worst. I am your affectionate friend,

Fawmouth, this 19th July. ESSEX.

The following day he wrote from Plymouth, whither he had made "a most toilsome journey." He desired a letter of thanks might be procured from the Queen to the Admiral of the Low Countries squadron, who kept company with him when he was "severed from all," and whose "care and affection "have now been thoroughly proved a second time."

No. CXXVIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady,—Of the best and worst that happens to us, your Maj. must receive account. I send this gentleman to inform your Maj. of the state of your Maj. army, as far as I know myself. If I write shortly and confusedly by him, I humbly crave pardon; for, as my industry to overcome the difficulties in which I find myself, gives me no time to write, so my sad spirit is not fit to indite anything that your fair eyes should read. Receive, dear Lady, the devout and more than most affectionate wishes of your Maj. humblest vassal,

Falmouth, this 19th July. ESSEX.

[1] Hulton MSS.

No. CXXIX.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady,—After I had dispatched Sir Thos. Gates from Falmouth, I had news that Sir Walter Ralegh, with divers of your Maj. ships, and others of the army, were in Plymouth; wherefore I came all night post over the rugged mountains of Cornwall. Here I find Sir W. Ralegh, Sir G. Carew, Sir Fras. Vere, with the Warspight, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, the Mary Rose, the Bonaventure, and many fly-boats, and other ships of the fleet. I met, at Falmouth, with Sir Ferd. Gorges, in the Dreadnought, and the Foresight, so as now I shall gather a fleet able to beat the Adelantado's vaunt-guard, if we meet them at sea. Our eyes and thoughts shall take little rest till we have repaired our wants, and turned our heads the right way, if your Maj. will, upon the sending now home of the Mere Honor, be but pleased to let me have the Lion come after me, your Maj. shall make me a very proud man, and I hope your royal heart shall take comfort in bestowing such a favor on your poor servant that is now dismounted. I have here met again with my messenger, and send, in addition to my former, most zealous passionate wishes, and rest your Maj. humblest vassal,

Plymouth, this 20th July. ESSEX.

No. CXXX.[2]

Essex to Cecyll.

Sir,—If you think us slow in writing, that we have not, these two days, sent you any despatch, you must remember how unpleasing the argument is which we can write of, and

[1] Hulton MSS. [2] S. P. O.

how unwillingly we send you word of our being yet here. For myself, I could have been ready to have gone forthwith upon my coming in; but I found all Her Majesty's ships so unable to put to sea, till they had their masts fished, or their leaks stopped, as I have been forced to stay for them. But of the other side, we wonder we have not a word from you. Sir Walter Ralegh wrote on Monday and Tuesday, and I sent Sir Thos. Gates on Wednesday, and wrote by Mr. Marbury on Thursday, and now it is Saturday in the evening, and yet we have not a word. The news we desire to hear is, Her Majesty's welfare, her bearing, with her wonted magnanimity, these hard and cross beginnings, and her constancy in resolution for the month's victuals. Also, for my particular, I desire to have Her Majesty's granting me the Lion, to mount me again. I am now very ill accommodated, and will go sometimes in one ship, and sometimes in another, and would be glad to have a great and unpestered ship to receive me, for, till she come, I do carry all my provisions in two small spare ships. I pray you convey these two small letters, of a line a-piece, to my Lord of Worcester and Fulk Grevill, and know me to be your very affectionate friend,

Plymouth, this 23d of July. ESSEX.

Lord Burghley wrote a letter to Essex of the same date as the above, exhorting him to refer all his cross accidents to God's will; and recommends to him a psalm, very proper for the occasion: the verses to which he refers him are those beginning, "Those "men who go down to the sea in ships," &c.

No. CXXXI.[1]

Burghley to Essex.

My very good Lord, — It is not quite requisite to condole with you for your late torment on the seas, for I am sure that should be but an increase of your sorrow, and no relief to me. At this present I am but as a monoculus, by reason of a flux fallen into my left eye, and so by my evil writing your L. may see my impediment in writing so short a letter.

My Lord, I trust you with all your company refer all your accidents to God's will, thanking him for all your favorable accidents, and acknowledging the contrary to come for the punishment of you and us all that have interest in your actions. And in the time now of this departure, I did in the common usage of my morning prayer, on the 22nd day of the month, in the 107th Psalm of David, read these nine verses, very proper for your L. to be repeated, but specially the 6th of these nine, which verses your L. shall find often repeated, and so I wish your L. would follow the example. This my writing savoreth of divinity, as for humanity I refer myself to a joint letter sent from my L. Admiral, myself, and my son, and so commend you to God's favor. From Greenwich, 23rd July, 1597.

Your good Lordship's assured,
W. BURGHLEY.

No. CXXXII.[2]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord. — I do crave leave to refer your L. to our general letter for all things that concern my charge. This is to acknowledge how much I hold myself to be bound to you for your honorable and kind letter, and in it for your

[1] S. P. O. [2] Lansd. MSS. 84. 60.

L. grave and sound advice. I hope your letter shall find that I will be in such disasters as these no more grieved, than the interest of my dear Sovereign and my country should make me; and I will not less love myself, that my body and mind have at this time sympathised with my fortune, for to have had one and the same temper, in the crossing of so great and so general an action, had not been magnanimity, but stupidity. I do also acknowledge your L. excellent choice of a psalm, fit for the time and the occasion, and I assure your L. I had it at sea both read and read upon. If it please your L. to continue me still in your good favour, and bestow on me your good directions, you shall never find any that by his services would more strive to inworthy himself towards you, or, by observing your rules, mend himself towards the world, than your L. poor friend whom you may command,

Plymouth, this 26th July, 1597. ESSEX.

On the 26th July, Cecyll wrote Essex an account of the arrival, in the city, three days before, of an ambassador out of Poland, a gentleman, says he, "of "excellent fashion, wit, discourse, languages, and "person; the Queen was possessed by some of our "new councillors, that are as cunning in intelligence "as in decyphering, that his negociation tendeth to a "proposition of peace. Her Majesty, in respect that "his father, the Duke of Finland, had so much "honored her, besides the liking she had of this "gentleman's comeliness and qualities brought to "her by report, did resolve to receive him publicly "in the Chamber of Presence, where most of the "Earls and Noblemen about the Court attended, and "made it a great day. He was brought in attired "in a long robe of black velvet, well jewelled and

" buttoned: he came to kiss Her Majesty's hand " where she stood, under the state, from whence he " straight retired some yards off, and then began " his oration aloud in Latin, with such a countenance " as in my life I never beheld. The effect of it was " this, that the King had sent him to put Her " Majesty in mind of the ancient confederacies be- " tween the Kings of Poland and England; that he " had friendly received her merchants and subjects, " that she had suffered his to be spoiled without " restitution, not through ignorance of the violence, " but from mere injustice, violating the law of nature " and nations, because there was quarrel between her " and the King of Spain, which he would not en- " dure; but wished her to know, that if there were " no more than the ancient amity between Spain and " him, it were no reason his subjects were impeded, " much less now that strict obligations of blood had " so conjoined him with the illustrious House of " Austria; and concluding that if Her Majesty would " not reform it he would.

" To this," says Cecyll, " I swear by the living " God, that Her Majesty made one of the best answers " extempore in Latin that ever I heard, being much " moved to be so challenged in public. She said " that she did not believe the king himself would " have used such language, &c.; and as for you, " although I perceive you have read many books to " fortify your arguments in this case, yet I am apt " to believe that you have not lighted upon the " chapter that prescribeth the form to be used be-

" tween kings and princes; but were it not for the " place you hold, to have so publicly an imputation " thrown upon our justice, which as yet never failed, " we would answer this audacity of yours in another " style," &c. Cecyll goes on to say, " I assure your " L., though I am not apt to wonder, I must confess, " before the living Lord, that I never heard her, " when I knew her spirit were in passion, speak with " better moderation in my life."[1] The Queen having expressed sorrow that Essex had not heard his Latin and hers, Cecyll undertook to make him partaker, and prayed Essex, if this letter should reach him before he sailed, to take notice of his pleasure at hearing of her wise and eloquent answer.

Essex answered this from Plymouth on the 28th July, and expressed his pleasure at what he had heard in the following glowing terms.

No. CXXXIII.[2]

Essex to Cecyll.

Sir,—I have received your packet, wherein you send me the manner of Her Majesty's encounter with that braving Polack, and what a princely triumph she had of him by her magnanimous, wise, and eloquent answer. I was happy for Her Maj. that she was stirred, and had so worthy an occasion to shew herself. The heroes would be but as other men, if they had not unusual and unlooked for encounters; and sure Her Majesty is made of the same stuff of which the ancients believed the heroes to be formed; that is, her mind of gold, her body of brass. Oh! foolish man that I am, that

[1] S. P. O. [2] Ibid.

can compare *la tasse blanche* to the hardest metal. But in that wherein I mean to compare it, it holds proportion, for when other metals break and rust, and lose both form and color, she holds her own, her own pure color, which no other of nature can match, or of art imitate. But how dare my melancholy dulled spirit praise her, whose truest praise is silent admiration. Bear with me, for these contrary winds and cross fortunes make me suspect myself. I pray you cover my passions, and bear with them, for though I could esteem all things that happen well or ill only to myself as outward things that should not take away tranquility of mind, yet to have means of doing my Sovereign service taken from me, is more than the taking away of my life. How dizzy my head is, you may know by my sending my Lord your father an account of the men discharged and the money given to them, and no mention what I had done with the arms. I pray you therefore let him know I have left them all with Sir Ferd. Gorges, in the fort of Plymouth. And know yourself to be affectionately wished by your faithful friend,

ESSEX.

From aboard the Bonaventure, this 28th July.

Lord Thomas Howard, and those whose strong and well-found ships enabled them to keep the sea during the gale, appear, by his report, to have experienced the foul weather till Tuesday the 19th, when he had "great store of rain, which did allay "the wind." On the 20th, Lords Southampton, Mountjoy, and the rest of the Captains, assembled on board his ship, and they decided to proceed to the rendezvous off the North Cape, sending back a ship to report. On the 20th they made the land, stood off and on, "giving the enemy a fair sight of us, that if "their hearts did serve them they might come out."

On the 28th, receiving orders to return to Plymouth, he bore up, and arrived there the 31st, where he found the main body of the fleet ready for sea, but detained by the contrary winds, which continued, without intermission, until the 17th August, on which day they again put to sea. But this delay was attended with other evil consequences than the mere loss of time. There were in those days no stores of provisions from which the wants of the fleet might be replenished in a few hours; and, what with the loss by injury, and the consumption while lying idle in port, there was not a sufficient quantity left for the voyage. It became, therefore, necessary to reduce their numbers. All the troops were discharged, except the thousand veterans, who came with Sir F. Vere from the Low Countries; many of the smaller vessels and most of the victuallers were also discharged, their stores being transferred to the remainder. Many volunteers and officers, either compelled by ill health, or by their unwillingness to undergo again the inconveniences of a sea voyage, were left behind. Among the former, Sir Ferd. Gorges and Sir Cary Reynolds; of the latter number was Lord Rich.[1] Under these altered circumstances, a change of plan became necessary: the landing at Ferroll was given up; and Essex proposed instead to send in fire-ships supported by the two Spanish prizes of last year, the St. Matthew and St. Andrew,

[1] The Earl of Northumberland had likewise intended to accompany his brother-in-law, but was prevented by the death of his son, the infant Lord Percy, in May previous.— See Sidney Mem. ii. 55.

and some fly-boats and merchant ships, to destroy the enemy's fleet. To this the Queen assented, on condition that Essex did not go in person, or risk any of her English-built ships. Accompanied by Sir Walter Ralegh, the Earl rode post to Court, to lay this plan before the Council, and obtain their approbation.

In his letter of the 26th July, Sir Robert Cecyll had described the Queen's feeling towards Essex in these terms, "The Queen is now so disposed to "have us all love you, as she and I do talk every "night like angels of you." The correspondence of Cecyll, at this juncture, is extremely interesting. It is to be remarked especially, that his letters to Essex are full of caresses, adulation, and flattering expressions of regard. If this was only intended as a mask to deceive Essex, and lull to sleep his doubts of Cecyll's sincerity,—if, while honey flowed from his pen, poisonous malice was rankling at his heart,—then, indeed, did the little Secretary fully deserve the sobriquet given him by Antonio Perez, and always used by him in his correspondence with Essex, of *Roberto il Diavolo*. Future events will, perhaps, enable us to form a judgment on this point. The letters which follow bring us to the date of the second departure of the fleet from Plymouth.

No. CXXXIV.[1]

Cecyll to Essex.

My Lord,—I received from your L. a letter from Staines, in which was enclosed one from Mr. Sourdeac: what it hath

[1] S. P. O. "France."

effected your L. may see by this inclosed; but what your own hath done to me, my pen can express no more than my fortune can answer, my mind's desire by effects to demonstrate how much I account myself honored by your so faithful profession, which I am not so peevish or viperous to doubt of in such a person, whose nature and fortune I behold and have studied; neither will I, God I call to witness, seek to assure you of my serviceable affection, if I were not as sure of your favor. I was ashamed when you were here to have encroached upon your time, with any discourse or private long speech, because I saw the Queen glad to possess you, and that business were more necessary for your time, and more suitable than compliments or professions, where so much hath been said, and so little in my power to do; but I pray you let this record both testify my receipt of yours with infinite contentment, and let it assure you that I will die your L. honestly and affectionately to do you service,

R. CECYLL.

I am of opinion you shall do very well to send us here some copies of your challenge to Spain, which you intend to send, that when you leave our coast we may translate and disperse them abroad quickly.

From Court, this 6th August. The Spaniards will be with you on Wednesday.

No. CXXXV.[1]

Cecyll to Essex.

My good Lord,— Here all things are *sicut erat in principio*, and therefore I will use no superfluity. I am advertised for certain from the place itself, that the gallies which are come to Blavet are those which were at Ferroll, that near Sisarka,

[1] S. P. O.

they discovered 50 sail of ours, and expected their entry, that their army is of broken numbers, that they fortify upon the bridge called Ponte de Mar, lest that, being occupied by your land forces, should hinder the supplies which must come from the country, the numbers whereof are 8000, besides the ordinary sea companies being 1500, which are continually on the ships and the place; that the numbers of the ships are still as they were, and not victualled to come forth, but expected by the 10th Aug., great quantities of biscuit, wine, and oil; whether they will then try their adventures God knows, but he thinks they will waft home the Indian fleet, and think they have first done well in conveying money now by gallies to Blavet, which they took in at St. Andero's, and have compounded with the garrison, and further hold themselves happy in defending themselves, so as I see these base cogitations will hinder you from that which you desire, namely, to try the cause of your mistress with the army of their master.

Of these things I thought not amiss to write you, who I know, if you enterprize, will use better judges than a bare letter from a private man. I presume to send you divers letters, if your L. please that one of your secretaries may deliver them. The Spaniard will set out of London before to-morrow, and I do send Watson with him, and thus in all humbleness I take my leave. From the Court, this —— of Aug. 1597. Your L's to dispose,

R. CECYLL.

The next letter, from the Queen to Essex, appears to belong to this time: the copy, in the State Paper Office, from whence it is taken, is undated. It is a pity she had not taken some lessons from her favourite in the art of writing intelligible English.

No. CXXXVI.[1]

The Queen to Essex.

Eyes of youth have sharp sight, but commonly not so deep as those of older age, which makes me marvel less at rash attempts and headstrong counsels, which give not leisure to judgment's warning, nor heed advice, but make a laughter at the one, and despise with scorn the last. This have I not heard, but seen, and thereof can witness bear; yet I cannot be so lewd of nature to suppose the scope was not good. Now, so the race was run, and do more condemn the granters than the offerer, for when I see the admirable work of the eastern wind, so long to last beyond the custom of nature, I see, as in a crystal, the right figure of my folly, that ventured supernatural haps upon the point of frenatical imputation: but it pleaseth his goodness to strengthen our weakness, and warns us to use wit when we have it hereafter: foreseen haps breed no wonder, no more doth your short returned post before his time. But for answer; if your full fed men were not more than fitted by your desired rate, that purse should not be thinned at the bottom, that daily, by lightening, is made too thin already; but if more heed were taken how, than haste what, we needed not such bye reckonings. Kings have the honor to be titled earthly gods, and therefore breeds our shame, if we disgrace so much our name, as though too far short, yet some piece of proportion were not in us, not ever to reward desert by the rule of their merit, but bear with weakness, and help to lift from ground the well nigh falling man. This, at this present, makes me like the lunatic man that keeps a smack of the remain of his frenzy's freak, helped well thereto by the influence of *Sol in Leone*, that makes me yield for company to a longer proportion, than a wiser in my place would ever grant unto, with this caveat, that this

[1] S. P. O.

lunatic goodness make you not bold to keep too many that you have, and much less take in more to heap more errors to our mercy; also, that you trust not to the grace of your crazed vessel, that to the ocean may fortune be to humble; foresee and prevent it now in time, afore too late; you vex me too much with small regard of what I scape or bid. Admit that by miracle it would do well, yet venture not such wonders where such approachful mischief might betide you. There remains that you, after your perilous first attempt; do not aggravate that danger with another in a farther off climate, which must cost blows of good store; let character serve your turn, and be content when you are well, which hath not ever been your property. Of this no more, but for all my moods, I forget not my tenses, in which I see no leisure for aught but petitions, to fortify with best forwardness the wants of this army, and in the same include your safe return, and grant you wisdom to discern betwixt *verisimile* and *potest fieri*. Forget not to salute with my great favor good Thomas and faithful Mountjoye. I am too like the common faction that forget to give thanks for what I received, but I was so loth to take that I had well nigh forgot to thank, but receive them now with millions, and yet the rest keeps the dearest.

No. CXXXVII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear Lady,—I had yesternight made Sir R. Crosse's despatch, thinking presently to put to sea; but by that time we were all out, the wind came contrary. But, in the outer Sound, I lie with your Maj. fleet, to catch the first breath of favorable wind, and have thought good to send away Sir R. Crosse with my former despatch; and if betwixt this and

[1] Hulton MSS.

his arrival at the court, the wind come easterly or northerly, your Maj. may be sure we are gone on our way. Let this kiss your Maj. fair hands for me, and convey the most zealous wishes of your Maj. humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

I have enforced my brother Rich and your Maj. servant Carew Reynolds to stay, for if I had carried them to sea, they would have been dead in a week.

15th August.

No. CXXXVIII.[1]

Essex to Burghley.

My very good Lord,—I do, by Oldsworth my auditor, send you up the account of the money disbursed both for Her Maj. fleet and army. I do crave allowance of my account by some writing; for the warrant being for 2000*l.*, for the repairing of the fleet, most of the money being disbursed for the dismission of the army, it may lie upon me. I hope your L. will think I have been a good husband for the Queen, that a fleet so distressed hath been repaired, and an army of that greatness hath been discharged, for so little money. I assure your L. I have beggared myself, for those things which I ask no allowance for, have very far exceeded those which I account for here. If Her Maj. and your L. do allow of my poor endeavours in the public, I shall take no thought for my private. I do humbly commend your L. to God's best protection, and to yourself the service of your L. humble poor friend, whom you may command.

ESSEX.

If, in my accounts or despatches, your L. find error, I beseech you pardon it, for our troubles of getting out and fitting ourselves to put to sea, have overworked me.

From the land of Plymouth, this 15th of August, 1597.

[1] Lansd. MSS. 84. 61.

No. CXXXIX.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Most dear and most excellent Sovereign,—The bearer of this letter is sent up by me to inform your Maj. of the state of your army, and of the opinions of your humblest vassals what may be now our best courses. To send I was tied, both because we must give your Maj. account when we change our state, and must fetch from your direction ere we change our counsels. The party that is sent doth best know the state of your Maj. troops, and hath heard all that upon our state present we could say or conceive. When your Maj. hath heard all, that will be best which you will like best, and whatsoever you command shall be executed with all diligence and strongest endeavours. I do humbly beseech your Maj. to cherish and comfort the bearer, for, on my duty to your Maj., I say confidently, that you have not in your kingdom a gentleman who, both by sea and land, can serve you so sufficiently. I commend to your gracious thoughts the most zealous devotions of your Maj. humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

From aboard the Due Repulse, this 16th August.

The next, from Sir Robert Cecyll, was written after the news arrived of the safety of Lord Thomas and his squadron, and therefore about the end of July, or beginning of August.

No. CXL.[2]

Cecyll to Essex.

My good Lord,—Since the Queen understood that the rest of her fleet is safe, her spirits are raised, and what the

[1] Hulton MSS. [2] S. P. O.

wit of your poor friends can do to confirm it is not neglected. I do not send your L. the letter which my Lord Thomas writ unto me, because I have sent it to my Lord Admiral to Chelsea; but the effect was only this, that amazement had surprized their minds for doubtfulness at your well doing, and that you parted the 15th of the month that they lay in now; but in conclusion of his letter, that they would make haste to the Groyne, where they hoped to hear of your L., and your fleet. This was all in effect, and though I am very saucy to presume to advise you in this, wherein I am a mere blind judge, yet out of the measure of my great affection to the journey, I presume to use liberty with you only to wish your L. to send some directions with all speed to him; for you know, he missing you will not dare to resolve of any thing, and fearing your loss, which I find he desperately apprehendeth, in regard he knows your ship to be a cracked, villainous bottom, may, through uncertainty, haply do that which you would not have him, nor which he would not do, were he sure you were well. For the report of Robinson, it cannot be, as your L. conceiveth to be, the fleet of Ferroll. I know that into Lisbon thirty-two gallies brought 3000 men from the south part of Spain, and that *Sebure*[1], with thirteen ships, kept the coast, and passed daily from and to Lisbon and Ferroll, with all manner of provisions, and that these were expected daily from Lisbon to go for the Groyne; and for that Robinson he hath written to Sir Thos. Gerrard from Portsmouth, that, coming from the South Cape, he fell in with twenty-four ships, whereof fourteen were great ones, fifty leagues to the southward of the North Cape, all bound for Ferroll and the Groyne. Now, my L., these could not be the Ferroll fleet, but might be Sebure's fleet, who staid for ships from Malaga, and from within the Straits with provisions. God, if it please him, send it as you wish, to find

[1] *Qu.* Saveira?

ships at sea, for then I hope you will make a good audit of them. I only take opportunity to write this, because my Lord Admiral sends to his nephew. For other matters of worth, there is none to trouble you, only it vexeth me that, seeing the fleet is so far advanced as the Groyne, that it wants the director, which is your person and counsel.

Pardon all my follies in my disordered letters, which haste makes often very unadvised, and if you find errors not too gross, let affection plead for my omissions, for the Everliving knoweth that I affect your person and fortune. Your L.'s poor friend at command, assured,

R. CECYLL.

My L. of Cumberland is a suitor to go a royal journey in October; the plott is very secret between Her Maj. and him. Only that his spirit loves activity, it were to be wished; and if your L. tell Sir Walter Ralegh, I think he will barter the Roebuck with him, instead of my true love, which I will adventure, if I hear her speak at my return. If you meet her, let us have no searching of Hd's Bridget, nor borrowing our sugar loafs.

On the evening of Wednesday, the 17th August, the fleet sailed from Plymouth, and arrived, without accident, on the 23rd, off Cape Ortegal.

Here their misfortunes recommenced; for in a short gale of five or six hours, which they experienced here, the St. Matthew lost her foremast and bowsprit, and was compelled to bear up for England. The St. Andrew lost her maintopmast, and parted company with the fleet. Thus the ships which were to have supported the fire-ships in an attack on the Spanish fleets in Corunna and Ferroll, were *hors de combat;* and Essex was prohibited from risking any others; added to this, the wind blew from the

eastward, directly out of Ferroll, which would have prevented an immediate attack; and cruising off an enemy's port had not yet become the custom of the English navy. That part of the plan consequently fell to the ground. We continue in the words of Essex, in his official account of the voyage.[1]

"At one instant, within sight of the shore of the "Groyne, Sir Walter Ralegh, the Rear-Admiral, brake "his main-yard, which forced him to bear aloft to the "westward before the wind; and I, in this second "ship, had such a desperate leak sprung, as when we "pumped and bailed with buckets as much as we "could for our lives, it grew still upon us; and when "we sought by ramming down pieces of beef and "holding linen cloths wrung together to stop the "coming in of the water, it came in notwithstanding "so strongly as it bare down all, and bare away "every man that stood to stop it. Then was I fain to "lie by the lee, and make my company work upon it "all night, my master carpenter, the only skilful man "I had, dying at that very instant; and when, by the "great mercy of God, we had stopped it, the wind being "easterly, the fleet was so far shot ahead as I could "not recover the most part of them till I came by "Cape Finisterre; when holding a council, and miss-"ing Sir Walter Ralegh, who bearing off at sea had "no plying sails to get up; missing him, I say, with "thirty sail that in the night followed his light, and "hearing that the St. Matthew, which was our prin-

[1] A copy. Harl MSS. 36. 419. This letter was signed by Essex, T. Howard, C. Mountjoy, W. Ralegh, F. Vere, Ant. Shirley, Chr. Blount.

" cipal ship for the execution of our pretended en-
" terprise was returned, and being barred to hazard
" any other in her place, it was by the whole Council
" of war concluded that the enterprise of Ferroll was
" overthrown; both because, if the wind had served,
" we wanted the ships destined for that service; and
" if we had the ships, we wanted wind to get into
" the harbour of Ferroll, for the wind blew strongly
" at East, which would have been full in our teeth as
" we had plyed in; and now we could only think of
" the intercepting of the Indian fleet, and the de-
" feating of the Adelantado if he did put to sea; for
" to take in Terçeira, our land army being discharged,
" we had no means; whereupon we bare for the
" height of the Rock, hoping there, because it was
" our second rendezvous after Ferroll, to meet with
" Sir Walter Ralegh, into which height, when I came,
" a message was delivered me from Sir W. Ralegh,
" by one Captain Cobbets, that the Adelantado was
" gone from Ferroll with his fleet to Terçeira to waft
" home the Indian fleet of treasure, and that he would
" attend my answer at the Burlings; which message
" of Sir Walter's was grounded on the report of a
" captain of a ship of Hampton which did confi-
" dently deliver it; I the General then calling a
" council, took a resolution, both because we hoped
" to meet the Adelantado there, and because all our
" best experimented seamen did assure us it was the
" likeliest course to meet the Indian fleet, to go for
" the islands, and sent out pinnaces both to the
" Burlings, and towards the South Cape, which was
" our third rendezvous, by our first appointment, to

" cause Sir Walter Ralegh and all others of our fleet
" to follow; and bearing with the island of Terçeira
" looked into the road of Brasill, and saw there was
" no fleet, whereupon we bare aloft betwixt St.
" Georges and Graçiosa, for the island of Flores, at
" which we might both water and take in victuals,
" which, in merchants' ships, Her Maj. had sent after
" us; where, if the Indian fleet did come this year,
" they were likeliest to fall; but when we had spent
" at Flores some ten days, in the which time Sir
" Walter Ralegh and his company came unto us, by
" a small pinnace come from the Indies, I, the General,
" was told that it was doubtful whether the Indian
" fleet came thence or not, and if they did, they
" would change their usual course, and come in some
" height more to the southward, till they were past
" the islands where usually they are attended; which
" news made us resolute in council to go for Fayal,
" and so for St. Michael's, and to have still some
" nimble ships to lie off and on at sea, both to
" the southward and to the northward."

A messenger was despatched to England with the following letter, reporting the failure of the projected attack on Ferroll.

No. CXLI.[1]

Essex to Elizabeth.

Though it belong properly to them that do great things, most dear and most excellent Sovereign, to give often account

[1] Hulton MSS.

of what they do, yet I must needs, upon all change of purpose or alteration of intelligence, trouble your Maj. with the news of our idle sailing.

My first design of Ferroll was overthrown by the St. Matthew's going home, and the departing of a fourth part of the fleet, while I was labouring to keep your Maj. ship above water. My second purpose of going to the height of the South Cape is attested by Sir Walter Ralegh, who hath sent me word directly that the fleet of Ferroll is gone to the islands of the Azores, to waft home the Indian fleet. This I have done by the counsel of all the Council of war present, and the opinion of all the principal masters in your Maj. fleet. Absent men are subject to many reports, interpretations, and taxations; but your Maj. is just, and I will prove myself to have more true zeal to your service, perfect obedience to your commandments, and matchless affection to your dearest person, than all men else have, do, or shall have. And if you believe not this, you are not just, nor do not right. Your Maj. humblest vassal, ESSEX.

From the height 39 (N. lat.), this last of August.

Among the followers of Essex, there were some who constantly endeavoured to keep alive his dislike to Sir Walter Ralegh. Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Anthony Shirley, Sir Gilly Meyrick, were the chief of these. They insinuated that Ralegh had intentionally separated from the fleet off the coast of Portugal, but without success, as we have the testimony of Sir Arthur Gorges[1] that, on his rejoining at Flores, Essex received Ralegh with great kindness, and informed him of the various surmises to which his absence had given rise.

[1] Sir Arthur Gorges was captain of Ralegh's ship, and wrote an account of the voyage.

Before Ralegh's arrival, a Council of war had been held, and an attack on the lesser islands resolved on. Terçeira having been reconnoitred, was considered too strong even for a joint attack by the whole force. Essex was to attack Fayal; Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Francis Vere, Graçiosa; Lord Mountjoy and Sir Christopher Blount, St. Michael's; and the Dutch Squadron, Pico, "where the greatest store of wines "do grow," which it was therefore presumed would not be disagreeale to them. Ralegh, should he arrive in time, was to join Essex in the attack on Fayal.

The accounts of the proceedings of the fleet by several of the persons engaged in it, vary according to the predilections of the writers; Sir Arthur Gorges entirely in favour of his chief, and declares that Ralegh waited two days for Essex before he would attack Fayal. Sir Francis Vere insinuates that Ralegh was actuated by the desire to gain some honor for himself, without regard to the furtherance of the general service.

A letter from Essex to Cecyll, of the 16th September, sent home by the Dutch Admiral, assists us in forming a clear judgment. There can be no doubt that Ralegh endeavoured to steal a march upon the Earl of Essex, and to a certain extent succeeded in his aim.

When Ralegh rejoined the fleet at Flores, they had all completed their watering, and having refreshed their crews, were ready to proceed to sea; Essex, therefore, instead of lying at anchor till Ralegh's squadron was ready, went out to cruize, intending to

follow up the plan already mentioned on his junction; and in the mean time, instead of depriving Ralegh of any share in their exploits, "kept the sea like a high "constable, arresting, in Her Majesty's name, all "within a space of thirty leagues."

No. CXLII.[1]

Essex to Cecyll.

The sudden extreme sickness of the Admiral of the Low Country squadron hath made me send him back with his own ship only and two other fly-boats of transportation, of whom I have no need. I pray you inform Her Sacred Majesty, that now all the whole fleet is together; yesterday Sir Walter Ralegh came to me, and the Dreadnought the day before, the St. Matthew we only miss, who went for England before we came to the North Cape. By my uncle, Robert Knolles, and by Osborn, I have advertized what hath happened to me before our coming to the islands, and of our purpose in coming thither, and the cause of it; we have missed of the Adelantado, who will not leave Ferroll this year, and, as yet, the wind has been contrary for all Indian fleets, but now it is good, and I hope if they come for Spain or Portugal, they shall not escape us; besides we will, by God's grace, both relieve our ships, and sack all the islands but Terçeira, which I have very well discovered, and perceive to be too hard a work for me, our land forces being so small, and our provision for battery and other great ordnance being gone in the St. Matthew. You must excuse my followers for not writing, for this despatch was sudden, and they knew not of it; they are all well, and have these two days eaten me more good meat than their skins

[1] Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 6177.

are worth. Sir Walter Ralegh with the Warspite, the Bonadventure, the Dreadnought, and the Swiftsure, are watering and taking in victuals under the island of Flores; with the rest I keep the sea like a high constable to arrest all in the Queen's name that pass by in thirty leagues space. I pray let my dear Sovereign know I do spiritually kiss her fair royal hands, and think of them as a man should think of so fair flesh. And so I commend you to God's will and protection, and rest your very affectionate and assured friend,

Sept. 16. 1597. R. ESSEX.

Sir Walter Ralegh, when ready to quit Flores[1], instead of joining the fleet, went straight to Fayal, and captured the town, not without considerable loss, before Essex made his appearance. The latter, who had refused to take advantage of Ralegh's absence, and deprive him of his share of honor, was naturally and justly indignant at this treacherous conduct; and "it being directly and expressly forbidden "upon pain of death to land forces without order "from the General," immediately charged Ralegh with this offence. Sir Walter was called on to answer for himself before an assembly of the chief officers, when the majority pronounced against him. He justified his conduct by asserting, that the order in question did not extend to the principal commanders; and those were not wanting who endeavoured to per-

[1] From Flores the western, to St. Michael's the eastern island, the distance is about 260 miles in a south-easterly direction. About midway, the islands of Terçeira, Graçiosa, San Jorge, Fayal, and Pico, form a group. As Essex with the fleet was cruising in "space of thirty leagues," the difficulty must have been for Sir Walter Ralegh to avoid falling in with him.

suade Essex to bring his insubordinate Rear-Admiral to a court-martial. Essex, generous even in the height of his anger, only replied to them, "That "would I do, were he my friend."

Lord Thomas Howard stepped in as a mediator, and persuaded Ralegh to make some acknowledgment to the Earl, which mollified his wrath, and cordiality was again restored in outward appearance.

This done, the fleet proceeded to St. Michael's, and by a most untoward accident, missed the Spanish fleet, which during the night passed among the islands, was seen and chased by a few of our ships, which had separated from the main body, but got safely to an anchorage under the batteries of Terçeira. Three or four vessels only of this rich fleet were captured; but they were sufficient to repay the cost of the expedition. Immediately on learning their arrival, Essex proceeded with the fleet to Terçeira, which, before voted too strong for them to attack without troops and artillery, was now reinforced by the soldiers out of the Indian fleet; they were unable to make any impression; and after a distant cannonade, which inflicted small injury, gave up the attempt, and returned to St. Michael's.

This misfortune was related in the following terms:—"I was hard aboard the west part of St. "Michael's, before I heard this news; and then, "standing about, I, the General, being ahead the "fleet, met in my way a great ship of the Governor's "of Havana, and a frigate of the Spanish King's, "manned with the said King's soldiers, and one

" frigate of a particular man's, all which I set up,
" took, and manned for the safe bringing home of
" the ships and goods, and fell the next night,
" being Saturday, with Terçeira, where, finding the
" wind strong at N.W., we plied with as much
" sail as ever we could bear to get up to the road
" of Brasill; all that night, Sunday all day, and
" Monday morning, we could not weather the point
" of Brasill, which, when we did, whilst I, the
" General, gathered such of the fleet as were near,
" I sent in a pinnace of my Lord of Cumberland's,
" and four or five very sufficient Captains and
" Masters, to see whether it were possible for us to
" get up where the ships rode, and they brought me
" back word that it was impossible, with which I
" being not satisfied, plied in with mine own ship,
" keeping aboard with me two or three of the prin-
" cipal officers, that we might judge by the eye,
" and dispute upon the place; and when we came
" in we saw the bottom of the bay, into which they
" were towed and warped, lay right in the very eye
" of the wind, so as to lead it in with a sail, it was
" impossible, and to turn it up would ask a whole day
" if we had had scope, but both we must upon either
" board come within shot cast of their forts, and ere
" our ships would wend in so narrow a place, we
" should have been ashore, which manifest dishonor,
" and not the idle shots of all the forts and ships,
" though they were very liberal, made me stand off
" again.

" And as it was impossible to do anything for

" that present, so when I, the General, called all the " Captains of Her Maj. ships together, and en- " quired the state of their charge, I found that some, " by the naughtiness of their casks, and leaking of " beer, had not above two days, and some not one " day's drink aboard; and that which most of us all " had did so stink, as our men died and fell sick " continually; and all men protested that, if we " staid to attend change of winds, and did not in- " stantly seek a watering place, both men and ships " were absolutely lost; besides, we saw the galleons " had been unladen by shewing of their white bellies " so much above water, and that the merchants' ships " lay all day ashore, so as we had abidden the ex- " tremest hazard of Her Maj. troops and ships for " the burning of a few dry unladen vessels."

Essex landed at Villa Franca, which offered no resistance, with the intention of marching to Punta Delgada, the chief town of St. Michael's, before which the fleet was lying, ready to co-operate in the attack, and where the boats had been prevented from landing by the surf. Being informed that the mountains were so rugged and steep as to be impassable for his soldiers, this plan fell to the ground, and, after occupying Villa Franca for some days, during which the fleet was brought there and watered, they re-embarked.

The month of October had now arrived, and at this advanced season, with ships ill-found, provisions nearly exhausted, crews sickly, the Indian fleet moored under the batteries of Terçeira, and no pro-

spect appearing of further service to be done, it was resolved to return to England, hoping that the prizes they had taken, whose value would cover the charges of the voyage, might prevent them from being ill-received, although no serious blow had been struck against the enemy.

On the 15th October, they embarked the troops, and sailed from Villa Franca; but, encountering violent gales on the passage, the fleet was dispersed and damaged. It so happened that the fleet of the Adelantado, which was then in the mouth of the Channel, was disabled by the same gales. The two fleets, however, did not meet, and Essex weathered the storms at sea only to encounter tempests at Court.

The despatch before quoted concludes with these words: "We must conclude with this, that as we "would have acknowledged that we had done but "our duties if we had defeated the Adelantado, "intercepted the fleet of treasure, and conquered "the islands, so we have failed in nothing that "God gave us means to do; we hope Her Maj. "will think our painful days, careful nights, evil "diet, and many hazards deserve not now to be "measured by the event. The like honorable con-"struction we promise ourselves at the hands of all "my Lords. As for others that have sat warm at "home, and do now descant upon us, we know they "lack strength to perform more, and believe they "lack courage to adventure so much."

Essex was, on his return, exceedingly ill-received by the Queen; she reproached him with wasting her

treasure, disobeying her orders, with doing nothing to repay the expenses of the voyage, and, above all, with having oppressed Sir Walter Ralegh. This last charge shows very clearly how her mind had been poisoned; the actual offence of Sir Walter Ralegh against his Commander-in-chief, which is as clear as day, was turned into an injury received by him. By whom was this done, by whom could it have been done, but by the faction of Cecyll, if not by himself?

In vain did Essex endeavour to justify himself, the Queen would not hear him, and, after many vain efforts, Essex retired to his house at Wanstead.

This does not appear to have been satisfactory to Elizabeth, who, though she took pleasure in reprimanding her favourite,—perhaps to enjoy the gratification of hearing him defend himself,—did not at all choose that he should fly from her presence. This letter appears to have been written in answer to her inquiries after him.

No. CXLIII.[1]

Essex to Elizabeth.

Madam,—I do humbly desire your Maj. to think that I know mine own fortune, and the duty I owe to your Maj., so well as I dare not presume to challenge you for any thing, yet least your Maj. should wonder at my coming away so soon, I crave leave to put your Maj. in mind what a stranger I was made to-day, which doth so ill fit with my past fortune and my mind at this present, as I had rather retire my sick body and troubled mind into some place of rest, than, living in your presence, to

[1] Hulton MSS.

come now to be one of those that look upon you afar off. I have desired this gentleman to let me hear how your Maj. doth. Of myself it were folly to write that which you care not to know. And so wishing to your Maj. what yourself wisheth most, I do carry the same heart I was wont, though now overcome with unkindness, as before I was conquered by beauty. From my bed, where I think I shall be buried for some few days, this Sunday night. Your Maj. servant wounded, but not altered, by your unkindness,

R. ESSEX.

Shortly afterwards, Sir Francis Vere came to Court, who, though he had not forgiven Essex, had no regard for the opposite party. We shall give his account in his own words: on arriving "near Mary-"le-Bone Park, I met with Sir W. Russell, who being "my honorable friend, I lighted to salute with much "duty and affection, who skipped out of his coach, "and received me with like favor: with whom, whilst "I stood bare-headed, being in a sweat, I got cold, "which held me extremely, that for three weeks after "I could not stir out of my lodging. So soon as I "was able to go abroad, I went to the Court, and "because I would use nobody's help to get access to "Her Majesty, and desired to be heard publicly, "resolved to shew myself to Her Majesty when she "came into the garden. . . . She called me to her, "questioned me concerning the journey, seemed "greatly incensed against my Lord of Essex, laying "the whole blame of the ill success of the journey on "his L.; both for the burning of the Ferroll fleet, "and the missing of the Indian fleet; wherein with

" the truth I did justify his L. with such earnestness, " that my voice growing shrill, the standers by might " hear, laying the blame freely on them that deserved " it; and some there present called to confer with " me, were forced to confess the contrary of that " they had delivered to Her Majesty. Insomuch as " I answered all objections against the Earl, where- " with Her Majesty was satisfied and quieted, sat her " down in the end of the garden, and calling me to " her, fell into more particular discourse of his L. " humors and ambitions, all which she pleased then " to construe so graciously, that before she left me " she fell into much commendation of him, who very " shortly after came to the Court. . . . This office I " performed to his L., to the grieving and bitter " incensing of the contrary party against me, and, " notwithstanding I had discovered, as I before said, " in my recoilment, his L.'s coldness of affection to " me, and had plainly told my L. himself my own " resolution, in which I still persisted, not to follow " his L. any more in the war, yet to make as full " return as I could for the good favour the world " supposed his L. bare me, fearing more to incur " the opinion of ingratitude than the malice of any " enemies how great soever, which the delivery of " truth could procure me."[1]

So Sir Francis having performed the part of an honourable man, and disabused the Queen's mind, Her Majesty condescended to acknowledge to Essex

[1] Harl. MSS. 1344. 6.

that there was no foundation for any of the charges brought against him.

Yet her jealous mind could scarcely have been satisfied; for, during this interval, the populace had never been persuaded that any blame lay at the door of their favourite, and Essex had been received by them with as much joy as if he had brought home the whole Spanish fleet.

His next letter to her is in acknowledgment of her having at length done him right.

No. CXLIV.[1]

Essex to Elizabeth.

Most dear Lady,—Your kind and often sending is able either to preserve a sick man, or rather to raise a man that were more than half dead to life again. Since I was first so happy as to know what love meant, I was never one day, nor one hour, free from hope and jealousy, and as long as you do me right, they are the inseparable companions of my life. If your Maj. do in the sweetness of your own heart nourish the one, and in the justness of love free me from the tyranny of the other, you shall ever make me happy and increase the worth which is thought to be in you more by this one mean than by all your other excellent perfections. And so wishing your Maj. to be mistress of that you wish most, I humbly kiss your fair hands. Your servant in love and duty before all men,

R. ESSEX.

[1] Hulton MSS.

CHAPTER XVI.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

DISCONTENT OF ESSEX AT LORD HOWARD BEING CREATED EARL OF NOTTINGHAM. — HE IS CREATED EARL MARSHAL. — INTIMACY BETWEEN ESSEX, CECYLL, AND RALEGH. — CECYLL GOES ON A MISSION TO FRANCE. — MARRIAGE OF SOUTHAMPTON. — ESSEX AGAIN IN LOVE WITH HIS FAIREST B . . . . — LADY MARY HOWARD. — LADY LEICESTER RECEIVED BY THE QUEEN. — ENTERTAINMENT AT ESSEX HOUSE. — PLAYS. — QUESTION OF PEACE WITH SPAIN. — ABLE PAPER OF ESSEX ON THE SUBJECT. — WHICH IS DISPLEASING TO THE QUEEN, BEING AN APPEAL TO PUBLIC OPINION. — GREAT QUARREL WITH THE QUEEN, WHO STRIKES ESSEX. — DEATH OF LORD BURGHLEY. — DEFEAT OF THE ROYAL TROOPS AT THE BLACKWATER. — LORD KEEPER EGERTON REMONSTRATES WITH ESSEX. — HE IS ELECTED CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THE reproach of failure, through his own errors and omissions, however irritating it may have been to Essex, was so totally discredited by the multitude, who would believe no ill of their darling, that the only effect produced in his mind was, an increased bitterness against those persons through whose intrigues, and by whose partisans, the aspersions had been cast upon him. This was sufficient cause for Elizabeth's continued dissatisfaction, although, by the explanation of Sir Francis Vere, Essex had been exonerated from blame. Nor, on the other hand, were causes wanting to keep discontent alive in the Earl, and prevent his return to Court. Taking ad-

vantage of his absence, his rivals had so gained the Queen, that, on the 8th October, Sir Robert Cecyll had been made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and on the 23rd, that which affected him more deeply, as he conceived his honour was touched by it, Charles Lord Howard had been created Earl of Nottingham. The letters of creation stated that this honour was conferred for the Lord Admiral's services at the taking of Cadiz; the merit of which Essex claimed, and which was universally accorded to him. The new Earl was likewise Lord Steward; and, in the reign of Henry VIII., the Great Chamberlain, Earl Marshal, High Admiral, and Lord Steward of the Household, had been given precedence over all peers of the same rank. This was the sting; and Essex argued that, to give to Nottingham precedence over him for a service of which he claimed the merit, was a disparagement and a dishonour to him. He demanded to have the patent altered, and to have right done him, either by a commission to examine into the matter, or by combat against the Earl of Nottingham, or any of his sons or name, that would defend it.[1] He positively refused, in the mean time, to go to Court.

Lord Hunsdon wrote to him, "Her Majesty much "wondered and made many consultations of your "absence, holding it will be an imputation of farther "defect in your late service by the enemy, than "you have any ways deserved. I pleaded your want "of health; the shooting in your temples upon

[1] Sidney Mem. ii. 77.

" cold or long speeches, and yet your readiness to " attend Her Majesty, if she should be pleased to " command your services: she accounted your duty " and place sufficient to command you, and that a " prince was not to be contested withal by a subject. " —I told Her Majesty that, after you should find " some amendment in the state of your body, I " supposed you would for a small time retire your- " self for a private regard to your own estate; but she " rather imagined you should look into the public " state of the realm as a councillor than to respect " your private estate, when you might take a more " quiet time hereafter to look into it. —Many dis- " courses passed in which I could find nothing but " comfort and kindness towards your L. if you will " but turn about and take it."[1]

Another, who signs himself "thy true servant not " daring to subscribe," wrote him a long letter of advice, remonstrating against his continued absence from Court and Council, on the 16th November[2]: this anonymous friend tells him that he suffers his patience to give way to his discontents; that by retiring he is playing their game for his enemies; " for " the greatest subject that ever is or was greatest in " the prince's favor, in his absence is not missed;"— how true a remark that is, every age, one might say every day, can testify! —" a small discontinuance " maketh things as though they were not, breedeth " forgetfulness, forgetfulness giveth way to wrath,

[1] S. P. O. [2] Ibid.

" and the wrath of a prince is as the roaring of a " lion,"—have we not here the fall of Essex clearly marked out?—He goes on to urge him to attend every council, to let nothing be settled, either at home or abroad, without his privity. He may stay in the Court, attend every Council, and perform all his duties, making a greater show of discontent, than he possibly could being absent: there is nothing that his enemies so much wish, enjoy, and rejoice in as his absence; advises him not to sue any more—necessity will entreat him: to dissemble like a courtier, and show himself outwardly unwilling of that which he has inwardly resolved.

It will only be fair to Lord Nottingham to give an extract from his letter to Essex, in November, deprecating all sinister practice on his part. " I was very " glad to receive a letter from your L., for I must " confess I found it, to me, somewhat strange, that " never since your L.'s departure I was so happy to " receive one line from you: it made me doubt that " some villainous device had been pursued to make " your L. conceive ill of me: but my L., if I have " not dealt in all things concerning you, as I would " have been dealt withal, had I been in your place, " let me never enjoy the kingdom of Heaven; if there " hath been any such sycophant that hath abused me, " if I do not, before you, make him give himself the " lie, let me bear the shame. I am not base; I know " what belongeth to honor; and to such an one as " you are, if my love were not to you, and that I de- " sired the continuance thereof, your L.'s earldom

"should not make me write this. When your L. "shall know what hath passed, you are wise, and can "judge."[1]

Neither at Court, Council, or Parliament, however, would Essex show himself; not even at the great festivity of the Queen's accession would he approach his mistress until his grievance was redressed; Burghley next tried his influence, but with no better success than the others.

No. CXLV.[2]

Burghley to Essex.

My very good Lord,—For that, contrary to my hope, that you would have come to the Court, specially at the festivity of Her Majesty coming to the crown, yet by report I hear that your L. is indeed very sick, though, I trust, recoverable with warm diet. I do send my servant this bearer, who at his last being with you you used so courteously, to bring me word from your L., both of your state of health, and what hope you will give us of the time of your return, when you shall find a harvest of business needful for many heads, wits, and hands.

I understand that your prize at Dartmouth is equipped to be brought to London, and that Sir Gilly Merrick hath used very good diligence there.

From the Court, at the entry to the quadragesimo of Her Majesty's reign, 19th Nov. 1597.

Your good L. assuredly at command,

W. BURGHLEY.

[1] S. P. O. Signed "Your Lordship's true and faithful friend and kinsman, C. Nottingham."

[2] S. P. O.

No. CXLVI.[1]

Burghley to Essex.

My very good Lord,—I know not how to write to your L. for my satisfaction with your contentation. Sorry am I to see your abstinence from hence, whereby Her Majesty hath want of her service, and yourself subject to diversity of censures. I find Her Majesty sharp to such as advise to that which were meet for her to do, and for you to receive.

Good, my Lord, ever come here with yielding, without disparagement of your honor, and plead your own cause with your presence, whereto I will be as serviceable as any friend you have to my power, which is not to run for lack of good feet, nor to fight for lack of sound hands, but able and ready with my heart to command my tongue to do you due honor.

I wish to receive answer when you will come to the Court.

Your L. assured at command,

30th Nov. 1597. W. BURGHLEY.

It became impossible to conceal from the Queen the cause of the Earl's continued absence, and she at length took the matter into her consideration; and admitting the wrong done to Essex, laid the entire blame upon Burghley and Cecyll, who with "infinite "protestations, execrations, and vows," denied it.

Essex refused to give way until the patent was altered: this required the consent of Nottingham, which he refused. Sir Walter Ralegh, who one would hardly suppose could be the most agreeable mediator to Essex, was employed without success, until, possibly by his ingenuity, as we shall find him on

[1] S. P. O.

very friendly terms with Essex shortly afterwards, a way was found to meet both difficulties, and, on the 18th December, Essex was created, by patent, Earl Marshal of England, a post which restored to him his precedency over Nottingham; who, however, chose in his turn to consider himself injured, resigned his staff of Lord Steward, retired to his house at Chelsea, and was very sick, according to the approved practice of discontented courtiers in that age.

In the beginning of January, 1598, the world wondered very much at the intimacy which existed between the Earl of Essex, Sir R. Cecyll, and Sir Walter Ralegh: "none but they enjoy him; they "carry him away as they list."[1] We, however, who can see the cause of Cecyll's courtesy to the Earl at this time, feel no wonder except that Essex should have allowed himself to be taken in by such hollow professions.

France had, for nearly half a century, been torn by domestic convulsions: during the thirteen years of the reign of Henry IV., he had been likewise engaged in foreign war, that monarch sighed for peace, that he might restore order to his finances, prosperity to his subjects, and only waited for an opportunity of obtaining it with honor. This was afforded to him by the capture of Amiens from the Spaniards, in September, 1597. Philip II., equally weary of the war, was willing to restore his conquests, and authorised the Archduke to treat with the French King. Henry

[1] Sidney Mem. ii. 79.

immediately made known this proposal to Elizabeth, who was alarmed and displeased at the thoughts of having to bear, single-handed, the burthen of the war, and the support of the Dutch, and at Henry's having entertained the idea of a separate peace. Sir Robert Cecyll, Sir Thomas Wilkes, and Mr. Herbert, on the part of England, and Justinian Nassau and John Barnevelt, for Holland, were appointed as special envoys to endeavour to dissuade Henry from this step. He was not to be moved, and having issued the edict of Nantes, on the 20th April, by which the Protestants were secured in their privileges, he concluded peace with Spain, at Vervins, on the 2nd May, 1598.

Sir Robert Cecyll, who by experience was well aware of the advantages to be gained by the absence of a rival, was extremely averse to this mission, which would leave Essex in possession of the field. Indeed he positively refused to stir until he had a promise from Essex, that nothing should be done in his absence either prejudicial or offensive to him. Hence his desire to propitiate the Earl; this is the reason why he persuaded the Queen to make a present to Essex of 7000*l.* worth of cochineal, and to give him a contract for 50,000*l.* worth, at 18*s.* the pound, the price of it in the market being thirty and even forty shillings.[1]

It is hardly necessary to say that the promise given by Essex was honorably and faithfully kept; that

[1] Sidney Mem. ii. 83. 89.

during the absence of the Secretary he performed his duties, and protected his interests as though they were his own. Cecyll returned from his unsuccessful mission the last day of April.

In May Lord Essex again fell under the Queen's displeasure, of which the obvious cause was his furthering and assisting the marriage of his dear friend, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, to his cousin, Elizabeth Vernon[1], maid of honour, without the Queen's knowledge or consent. Southampton's character bore a strong resemblance to that of Essex: like him, he was generous, ardent, impetuous, and arrogant, a great patron of men of genius, and had received many tokens of favour from the Queen, which he entirely forfeited on his marriage. He had long paid his court to the "fair mistress Vernon," and his friends had vainly endeavoured to bring the Queen to consent to their union; but age had not cured her aversion to seeing her courtiers enter into those holy bonds, and, after many fruitless efforts to obtain her consent, they did what was very natural, and we may add proper, married without it. Nevertheless, says Mr. Standen, writing of the Earl of Essex,

[1] Daughter of Sir John Vernon of Hodnet, by Elizabeth Devereux, Essex' aunt: a maid of honour, and a beauty. R. White writes on the 23rd September 1595, that my L. of Southampton does, "with too much familiarity, court the fair Mrs. Vernon." In the end of 1597 he was ordered by the Queen to absent himself from court; but returned early in 1598, when it was "secretly said he shall be married to his fair mistress." In February he went with Sir R. Cecyll to France, leaving behind him "a very desolate gentlewoman, who hath nearly cried out her fairest eyes." They were probably married before his departure. He returned in November.—See *Sidney Mem.* It was said by the gossips, as will be seen, that the marriage did not take place till later in the summer.

"about this matter, imposed upon the Earl for "gendering, the Lady Scudamore and Dr. Gifford "are also in the class. Most that talk do judge this "not to be the principal cause, neither that of the "new-coined countess, but that some other matter "hath been discovered unto the Queen, not known to "the vulgar, which doth pinch nearer . . . . . There "is doubtless a remedy, which consisteth in the dili-"gence about and observing of her, which two "points put in practice would restore his greatness, "and yield his foes flat at his feet."

None of the many would-be-advisers of Essex appear to have seen how utterly impossible it was for him to become a good courtier.

It does not seem quite clear whether the gendering mentioned above refers to what Lady Bacon had a short time before regretted in a letter to her son, namely, "thy Earl's unchaste manner of life," or to the share Essex had in the marriage of Southampton. The names of at least four ladies of the Court were, however, coupled with his; Elizabeth Southwell, who indeed bore him a son, named Walter Devereux[1], Lady Mary Howard, Mrs. Russell, and the "fairest Brydges." Which of these ladies was, at the period in question,

[1] It appears by a law paper in the State Paper Office, containing an abstract of the remainders of the Earl of Essex' estates, that Essex House was in remainder to "Walter Devereux, the base reputed son of Robert Earl of Essex, begotten on the body of Elizabeth Southwell." Whether this frail lady was Elizabeth, daughter of the Lord High Admiral, and wife of Sir Robert Southwell, or whether she was the Mrs. Southwell, who in 1599 was appointed maid of honour to the Queen, is not quite clear. Elizabeth Howard married Sir Robert Southwell, 1583; she must, therefore, in all probability, have been the Earl's senior.

the object of his affections, we cannot say; but it is certain that each, in her turn, excited the jealousy of Elizabeth, and gave poor Lady Essex many a heart-ache.

On the 11th February, we hear that "it is spied "out by some, that my Lord of Essex is again fallen "in love with his fairest B.: it cannot chuse but "come to Her Majesty's ears, and then he is un-"done."[1] Lady Essex, who was with child at this time, was observed to be much disquieted, having either been informed of, or suspecting, it. The lady in question was Mrs. Brydges[2], a maid of honour and celebrated beauty, who had been in some disgrace the preceding April on this account. The Queen had treated her and Mrs. Russell with words and blows of anger: they were put out of the Coffer Chamber, and took refuge in Lady Stafford's house for three nights; when, promising to avoid the like offence in future, they were restored to their wonted waiting. One reason assigned for the royal displeasure is sufficiently ludicrous: that the ladies had taken physic—without leave, I presume; the other was, that they had gone one day privately through the privy galleries to see the playing of ballon, or football. It appears that for some days subsequent to the visit of his ladye-love to the ballon playing, Essex was confined "with a great

[1] Sidney Mem.

[2] She was daughter of Edmund, second Lord Chandos, and married William Lord Sandys, of the Vine. R. White writes, 16th January, 1599, "My Lady Sandys goes very often to Walsingham House to see how "the ladies do there."—*Sidney Mem.* i. 159.

"heat in his mouth," caused by over-excitement in playing this game.[1]

I know not whether this amour is to take precedence of, or give way to, another of this period, which is related by Sir John Harrington.[2]

Lady Mary Howard neglected to "bear Her High-"ness' mantle and other furniture," at the hour that the Queen walked in the garden; she was absent from meals and prayers; and, on one occasion, was not ready to carry the cup of grace during dinner into the Privy Chamber, and, when rebuked, gave such unseemly answer, as bred great choler in the Queen; whose mind was, at that time, very much occupied with Irish affairs, so that she seldom talked of familiar matters to her women, and chided them severely for small neglects. But the cause of Lady Mary's offence was likely to increase her mistress' anger; for it appeared that she had "much favour and marks of "love" from the young Earl, which she encouraged, notwithstanding that the Queen exhorted all "her "women to remain in virgin state as much as may "be." Lady Mary was advised to shun the Earl, and not entertain his company, nor be careful in attiring her person to win his love, which she seemed more careful about than the Queen's good will.

Elizabeth herself took the following method of correcting the latter fault in Lady Mary, all that could be said "of youth and enticing love" in mitigation of her offence having rather a contrary effect.

[1] Sidney Mem.

[2] Nug. Antiq. i. 233.

Lady Mary had a velvet dress, with a rich border, powdered with gold and pearl, which moved many to envy, and among the rest the Queen herself, who thought it surpassed her own in beauty and richness. So one day she sent privately for Lady Mary's dress, put it on, and came out among the ladies: the Queen being a great deal taller than Lady Mary, the dress was ridiculous on her; she asked all the ladies how they liked her new fancied suit; at length she came to the poor girl herself, and asked her if she did not think it too short, and unbecoming, to which Lady Mary was forced to agree. "Why, then," said the Queen, "if it become not me, as being too short, I am "minded it shall never become thee, as being too fine, "so it fitteth neither well." The dress was accordingly put by, and never worn till after the Queen's death; when he, to gratify whose eyes it had been perhaps originally made, was no longer there to admire its fair wearer.[1]

The influence of Essex during his undisturbed possession of the Court, instead of being used to prejudice his adversaries, appears to have been exerted solely in the cause of filial affection. His mother had never been forgiven her marriage to the Earl of Leicester, nor, since that day, received at Court. She was very desirous to be received, and her son took great pains to soften the Queen, who, at the repeated instance of Essex, at length consented to admit Lady Leicester; yet the latter was often

[1] Nug. Antiq. 361.

brought to the Privy Gallery, and the Queen made some excuse for not appearing. On Shrove Monday the Queen was persuaded to go to Mr. Controller's, where Lady Leicester was waiting with a "fair jewel," worth 300*l.*, as a peace offering. Lady Chandos prepared a great dinner to entertain Her Majesty; the royal coach was ready, and all the world waiting to receive her; when suddenly she sent word she should not go. Essex who had been unwell all the day before, went up the private way to the Queen "in his night "gown," but all would not do. At last, on St. David's Day, the wished-for event came off: Lady Leicester was received, kissed the Queen's hand and her breast, and embraced her, and was kissed by her. Lady Leicester departed greatly contented, but being desirous to go again to kiss the Queen's hand, before returning to Drayton, was refused, and some "wonted unkind words used to her."[1]

On the 14th February, a great entertainment was given at Essex House, at which the Ladies Leicester, Northumberland, Bedford, Essex, Rich; Lords Essex Rutland, Mountjoy, and others, were present.

They had two plays performed before them, which kept them till one o'clock after midnight. Considering the close connection which existed between Essex and Southampton, the great patron of Shakspeare, who was still abroad, but ordered to return forthwith, there can be little doubt that these plays were his, perhaps then performed for the first time, before this

[1] Sidney Mem. ii. 93.

noble audience. If our informant had only been a little more particular, we might have had the dates of two of the great poet's dramas fixed; perhaps he himself took a part in them.

From this period, with one exception, the correspondence of Anthony Bacon with Lord Essex fails us. It is probable that, when his employer fell into trouble, Bacon destroyed all papers which might compromise him. This solution is the more natural, that it appears about this time the Earl's mind became pervaded with gloom and discontent, and that he frequently gave way to violent bursts of passion. In his letters to Bacon he was sure to make use of language dangerous to both. That it did not proceed from a cessation of regard, and that Anthony Bacon never imitated the baseness of his brother, the exception above mentioned will show; besides which, after the death of his patron, Anthony, who did not long survive him, took measures to redeem and defend his character from the obloquy cast upon it by his enemies. But though Bacon fails us, as well as Rowland White, the faithful chronicler of Court events to Sir Robert Sidney, in consequence of the latter obtaining leave of absence, we shall find in the letters of Mr. John Chamberlain to Mr., afterwards Sir Dudley, Carleton[1], which, commencing

[1] Dudley Carleton was born, 1573, was educated at Christ Church, and returned from his travels, 1600; he became secretary to Sir Henry Neville in France; afterwards to Sir R. Winwood in the Low Countries; was knighted, 1610; was envoy to Venice, Savoy, Holland; and returned home 1618; he was Vice-Chamberlain, and was created by Charles I. Lord Carleton of Imbercourt, Surrey, Viscount Dorchester; he was afterwards Secretary of State, and died, 1632.

this autumn, extend over a period of many years, an equally minute and interesting detail of events.

After the conclusion of the Peace of Vervins, Queen Elizabeth and her Council were deeply occupied in considering the posture of affairs, and concerting measures with the States of Holland for mutual security. Sir Francis Vere was sent over as envoy, and in the mean time the question of peace or war was much debated at home. Lord Burghley and the other advocates for peace declared that this was the time to make an advantageous peace, because the King of Spain was so weak; that the Queen's exchequer was much impaired; and that she would increase her means as much as Spain by a peace; that as for the Low Countries, she was only bound to them until such time as Spain made reasonable and fair proposals, and she might forsake them without any discredit; that the English were prone to sedition if taxed more than was customary; that the commonalty had an in-bred malice against the nobility, and were not over loyal.

These not very strong, and, as respects the States of Holland, disgraceful reasons for entering into negotiations with Spain were replied to by Essex and his partizans with greater show of reason.

With regard to the first: the weakness of the King of Spain offered an argument equally good for pressing the war with vigour; there could be no faith reposed in the popish prince who never treated with heretics but to deceive them; that he doubted the sincerity of the offer of peace, which was not made

directly, and which he believed was only an expedient to gain time; that when his preparations were complete, his coffers replenished, ships built, sea stores provided, and the Indies quiet, Philip would think it no crime to break it suddenly; and if he did, would easily obtain the Pope's absolution, were he not enjoined by the Pontiff to break with heretical people who refused to acknowledge the omnipotence of his bulls. To desert the States by making a separate peace would be not only disgraceful, but involve a pecuniary loss, for the Queen could not hope to recover the money she had advanced to them. "Princes," said he, "make peace for utility, convenience, or necessity; "for utility, when they can gain advantage by it: "if Spain make peace with us, what can we gain? "not reputation, for by owning that he is unable to "continue the war with us single-handed, he will lose "the reputation of his arms, and other countries sub- "ject to him will be apt to revolt; therefore it could "not be for convenience; as for inability, he cannot "want means, for while his enterprises are his ebb- "tides, so his Indian fleets are his flood-tides, that "fill his banks again. To include the Low Countries "in a peace with us is impossible; desert them, we "cannot. He will make no peace with them unless "they acknowledge as their Sovereign the Infanta, to "whom, with her husband Archduke Albert, Philip had "lately given them,—and restore the Popish religion: "the poisoned doctrine of those veneficall Espaniolized "Jesuits once brought in, there will soon be no pro- "fessors of the Reformed religion left:" so that it

would be both an impolicy and an impiety to endeavour to drive them to it. The title of the Infanta to the crown of England was asserted; assisted by the forces, and maintained by the purse of Spain, she would possess commodious ports within a day's sail of England, from whence to prosecute her claim. The material points to be weighed in considering of peace were, the time, whether it be most advantageous for peace or war; the treaters, whether, if nothing be concluded, the enemy may not have gained during the negotiations; thirdly, whether, if peace be concluded, there will be assurance that it will be faithfully maintained.

The debates in the Council were prolonged and stormy. Burghley said that Essex breathed nothing but war; and one day, after a warmer discussion than usual, he drew out a prayer-book, and pointed to Psalm lv. verse 25., *The bloodthirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days.*

The States sending over envoys to urge the continuance of the war, a new agreement was ultimately made with them, by which they were to pay the English garrisons in Flushing, the Brill, and other cautionary towns, and also a sum of 800,000*l.* in certain annual payments. The Cecyll party did not sit down quietly under their defeat; the report was spread every where that there was but one cause that hindered peace being made with Spain, and the consequent prosperity of the country; and that lay in the resolution of the Earl of Essex to continue the war for the advantage of himself and his martial followers.

We are so far obliged to them for this charge, that it caused the Earl to write and publish a very able paper, addressed to Mr. Anthony Bacon, "against "those which jealously and maliciously tax him to "be the only hinderer of the peace and quiet of his "country;" from which I make some extracts: first, his reasons for writing this apology.

"He that thinketh he hath, or wisheth to have, an "excellent face, no sooner is told of any spot or un-"comeliness in his countenance, but he hies to shew "himself in a glass, that the glass may shew again his "true likeness unto him. The same curiosity moves "me to shew the true face and state of my mind to "my true friend, that he, like a true glass, without in-"jury or flattery, may tell me whether a matter or "accident have set so foul a blemish in that, as my "accusers pretend. I am charged, that either in affec-"tion, or opinion, or both, I prefer war before peace; "and so consequently that all my actions, counsels, "and endeavours do tend to keep up the state of Eng-"land in continual wars, especially at this time, when "some say peace may be had, and I only impugn it. "But both my heart disclaims so barbarous an affec-"tion, and my judgment so absurd an opinion; and "the reputation of a most faithful subject and zealous "patriot, which with the hazard of my life, and decay "of my estate, I have sought to purchase, must not "suffer by so ugly and odious aspersion, that my "actions have caused, maintained, and increased the "wars, or ever had any such scope or intent."

Then in answer to the charge he says:

"First, for my affection: in nature it was indif-
"ferently to books and arms, and was more inflamed
"with the love of knowledge than the love of fame:
"witness your rarely qualified brother, and that most
"learned and truly honest Mr. Savile, yea, my con-
"templative retirement in Wales, and my bookishness
"from my childhood; and now if time, reason, and
"experience have taught me to wish that unto myself
"which is best for myself, what should I not wish
"rather than martial employment, in which I have
"lost my dear and only brother, the half-arch of my
"house; buried many of my dearest and nearest
"friends; and subjected myself to the rage of the seas,
"violence of tempests, infections of general plagues,
"famines, and all kind of wants, discontentments of
"undisciplined and unruly multitudes, and a recep-
"tation of events; while I did not only leave my
"known enemies elbow room to seek their own and
"friends' advancement, but was fain sometimes upon
"trust of their protestations after new reconcilements,
"to make them the receivers, censurers, and answerers
"of all my dispatches. As my affection neither in
"truth is, nor, if I regard myself, in reason ought to
"be set in those courses of the wars, so in judgment I
"ever thought wars the diseases and sicknesses, and
"peace the true natural healthful temper of all
"estates. I have thought excellent minds should
"come to the wars, as chirurgeons do to their
"patients, when no other remedy will serve; or as
"men in particular questions are allowed to challenge
"combats, when there is no way but by the sword to

" prove the truth of their plea, and to obtain their " detained right. Yea, I will go one degree further, " I think the prince or state offends as much against " justice and reason, that omitteth a fair occasion of " making an honorable and safe peace, as they which " rashly and causelessly move an unjust war. — But " although wars be diseases, yet I think better to " endure some diseases, and sickness, than to adven- " ture upon every medicine. I hold that an enemy " may be trusted if he offer safe conditions, as a phy- " sician may be if he give a wholesome and tried " medicine; but to trust an enemy's faith when his " perfection shall undo, or extremely endanger us, and " infinitely advantage himself, were *medicum heredem* " *facere*. It is no cure to bring a state from a doubt- " ful war to an unsound or unsafe treaty; it is no " more than to put a feverous body out of a hot fit " into a cold. To conclude, as an unskilful physician " may, by weakening a natural body by his medicines, " bring it from a tertian or quartan fever into an " hectic; so an unprovident statesman may, with " conditions or treaty, so disarm a state of friends, " reputation, and strength, as the cure may prove far " worse than the disease. Therefore it is not the " name of peace or war, but the circumstances or " conditions of either of them, that should make us " fly the one or embrace the other."

On the question of peace and war, he argued that—

" Peace is to be preferred to war; and in a state " whose chief wealth, and where the revenues of the " crown, arise from traffic and intercourse, where

" almost all traffic is interrupted by the war,—a state " which in largeness of territory, and in wealth " which is the sinews of war, is inferior to that of the " enemy; where, besides foreign wars, there is yet a " great fire of rebellion unquenched, where associates " in war give over, neighbours are suspected, neutrals " shew ill affection, and the people grow weary of the " charges and miseries of war;—there, of all places, " peace should be embraced, if it be offered and " sought by honorable and fit means."

Another accusation against him was that he unduly favoured and regarded the men of war, to which he replies:—

"I do entirely love them; they have been my " companions both at home and abroad; some of " them began the wars with me, more of them " have had place under me, and many had me a " witness of their rising from captains, lieutenants, " and private men, to those charges which since, by " their virtues, they have obtained. Now that I " know their virtues, I would chuse them for friends " if I had them not, but before I had tried them, " God in his providence chose them for me. I love " them for my own sake, for I find sweetness in their " conversation, strong assistance in their employments " with me, and happiness in their friendship. I love " them for their virtue's sake, for their greatness of " mind,—for little minds tho' never so full of virtue, " can be but a little virtuous;—for their understand- " ings,—for to understand little, or things not of use, " is little better than to understand nothing at all.

" —I love them for their affections,—for soft loving " men, love ease, pleasure, and profit, but those that " love pains, dangers, and fame, shew that they love " the public more than themselves.—I love them for " my country's sake, for they are 'England's best " ancient armor of defence, and weapons of offence; " if we have peace, they have purchased it; if we " have war, they must manage it; yea, while we are " doubtful and entreat, we must salve ourselves with " what may be done, and our enemies will value us " by what hath been done, by our chief men of action. " That generally I am affected to the men of war, it " should not seem strange; every man doth love those " of his own profession. The grave judges favor " the students of the law; the reverend bishops the " laborers in the ministry; and I, since Her Ma- " jesty yearly used my service, in her late actions, " must reckon myself among her men of war. Before " action, Providence makes me cherish them for the " service they can do; after action, experience and " thankfulness makes me value them for the service " they have done."

This apology, however it might have raised the character and abilities of the Earl of Essex in the estimation of his countrymen, served him ill with the Queen. She was greatly displeased; anything like an appeal to public opinion appeared to her jealous mind an encroachment on the royal prerogative. This, coupled with his known love of popularity, created a feeling of doubt and alarm in her mind, which his enemies took care to foster, by all means

in their power, until she was led into those measures of harsh restraint, which ultimately drove him to the insane attempt that ended in his death.

It must be admitted that Essex did himself, by his conduct, assist the intrigues of his enemies. Apparently conscious that a feeling of suspicion was engendered in the bosom of his mistress, with increased obstinacy he braved her displeasure, instead of bending to the blast, and waiting until it had gone by to reinstate himself in her opinion. It was during the summer of the year 1598, that the appointment of a governor for Ireland came under consideration. The Queen, the Earl of Nottingham, Essex, Sir Robert Cecyll, and Secretary Windebank were discussing this subject: the Queen judged Sir William Knollys, Essex' uncle, and one of his few friends who had the Queen's ear, to be the fittest person; he, who desired rather to remove an enemy, named Sir George Carew; the Queen would not listen to him, the dispute waxed warm; and at length the Earl became so forgetful of what was due to her, and even of common decency, as to turn his back on Her Majesty with a gesture of contempt. Nothing can be said in defence of his behaviour, yet we must not judge the ruder manners of those days entirely by our present standard; if he forgot the respect due to his sovereign, and a lady, she certainly forgot herself as much, and behaved with equal, or, perhaps, considering her position, with yet greater indecency. Provoked beyond endurance, the Queen gave Essex a violent box on the ear, and at the same time bid him

go and be hanged! Stung to madness, he clapped his hand on his sword, and on Lord Nottingham stepping up to him, swore that he would not put up with so great an indignity, and would not have taken such an affront at the hands of Henry VIII. himself; and immediately retiring in a great passion, withdrew at once from Court.

How long this quarrel lasted, from which side came the first advances towards a reconciliation, we have no means of knowing; the peace, whenever made, was but a hollow one, as we shall see presently on referring to the correspondence between Essex and the Lord Keeper Egerton: it is probable that neither of those haughty spirits forgave the other.

William, Lord Burghley, after a long and faithful service, commensurate with the reign of Elizabeth, died at the age of seventy-seven years, on the 4th August, his last hours comforted by a farewell visit from his royal mistress, who "took his death "very grievously, with shedding of tears, and sepa- "rating herself from all company." Of moderate abilities, but experienced in affairs, cautious, and pliant, with no ambition save his mistress' interest, he had never lost his place in her favour; and never was queen better served. For forty years he had been the confidential adviser of Elizabeth, and although his power descended to his son, his loss it was impossible to replace. The Queen felt it so; she was old, and before very long she had the mortification to discover that the eyes of her most trusted

servants were turned from her towards the rising sun.

It has been said that there are no means of ascertaining whether the opening towards a reconciliation was made by Essex or his mistress. Mr. Chamberlain writes on the 30th August[1] the news of the day. First, of Lord Burghley's funeral, which was attended by

Five hundred mourners, whereof were many noblemen, and among the rest the Earl of Essex, who (whether it were upon consideration of the present occasion, or for his own disfavors), me thought, carried the heaviest countenance of the company: presently, after dinner, he retired to Wanstead, where, they say, he means to settle, seeing he cannot be received in Court, though he have relented much, and sought by divers means to recover his hold; but the Queen says he hath played long enough upon her, and that she means to play awhile upon him, and so stand as much upon her greatness as he hath done upon stomach. Mistress Vernon is from the Court, and lies in Essex house. Some say she hath taken a *venue* under the girdle, and swells upon it; yet she complains not of foul play, but says my L. of Southampton will justify it; and it is bruited underhand that he was lately here four days in great secret of purpose to marry her, and effected it accordingly.

7th September. — Yesternight the Queen was informed of the new Lady of Southampton, and her adventures, whereat her patience was so much moved that she came not to the chapel. She threateneth them all to the Tower, not only the parties, but all that are partakers of the practice. It is confessed the Earl was lately here, and solemnised

[1] S. P. O.

the act himself, and Sir Thomas Germaine accompanied him on his return to Margate.—My L. of Essex sick at Essex House.—Yesterday he took his litter towards Wanstead; this day I was with him there; he is in physic; we hope that presently, upon his recovery, he shall be recalled to Court. The Queen hath sent her physicians to attend him, and this day he hath been visited by Mr. Kiligrew, Mr. Greville, and Lord Henry from her.

In his next letters he gives the *on dit* relating the marriage of Lord Southampton, who had gone to France with the Secretary, in February, having had, before his departure, a secret conference with Essex of two hours' duration, when he probably made his friend the partaker of his secret.

I now understand that the Queen hath commanded the *novizia* countess the sweetest and best appointed lodging in the Fleet; her Lord is by commandment to return upon his allegiance with all speed. These are but *initiæ malorum.* Well may he hope for that merry day ἐν θανατῳ, which I think he did not find ἐν θαλαμῳ.

September 15th, Toby Mathew writes to Carlton, "My Lord is reintegrated into the Queen's "favor;" and Chamberlain, on the 17th, says, that "this day se'enight the Earl of Essex went to the "Court." On the 3rd October "Essex was at Court, "and said to be in as much favor as ever, but "no office bestowed since the Lord Treasurer's "death."

The next letter which I lay before the reader was one written by Essex in the very height of his discontent; and if an opinion was to be formed from

this alone, we should certainly suppose that the Queen's violence had been entirely unprovoked by any want of respect on his part: the anecdote is, however, related with so much circumstance, that it is impossible to take this view; but it is quite evident that the Earl thought himself the injured party.

No. CXLVII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Madam,—When I think how I have preferred your beauty above all things, and received no pleasure in life but by the increase of your favour towards me, I wonder at myself what cause there could be to make me absent myself one day from you. But when I remember that your Maj. hath, by the intolerable wrong you have done both me and yourself, not only broken all laws of affection, but done against the honor of your sex, I think all places better than that where I am, and all dangers well undertaken, so I might retire myself from the memory of my false, inconstant, and beguiling pleasures. I am sorry to write thus much, for I cannot think your mind so dishonourable but that you punish yourself for it, how little soever you care for me. But I desire whatsoever falls out, that your Maj. should be without excuse, you knowing yourself to be the cause, and all the world wondering at the effect. I was never proud, till your Maj. sought to make me too base. And now since my destiny is no better, my despair shall be as my love was, without repentance. I will as a subject and an humble servant owe my life, my fortune, and all that is in me; but this place is not fit for me, for she which governs this world is weary

[1] Hu'ton MSS.

of me, and I of the world. I must commend my faith to be judged by Him who judgeth all hearts, since on earth I find no right. Wishing your Maj. all comforts and joys in the world, and no greater punishment for your wrongs to me, than to know the faith of him you have lost, and the baseness of those you shall keep,

Your Majesty's most humble servant,

R. ESSEX.

During the retirement of Essex, he had a letter from his mother, who, ignorant of the cause, was in great anxiety about it.

CXLVIII.[1]

Lady Leicester to Essex.

Sweet Rbino,—Yourself hath given me such a taste of some strange matter to be looked for, as I cannot be quiet, till I know the true cause of your absence and discontentment. If it be but for Ireland, I doubt not but you are wise and politic enough to countermine with your enemies, whose devilish practices can no way hurt you but one. Wherefore, my dear son, give me leave to be a little jealous over you for your good, and entreat you to have ever God and your own honor before your eyes; so shall you be sure he shall dispose indeed all, as you say, for the best, in despite of all enemies. My friend and I cannot but be troubled with this news, and do wish ourselves with you, as we would soon be, if we thought our service needful, so that you would have it so; which let us know, and we will leave all other occasions whatsoever, and will presently be with you. Well, if it be but men's matters, I know you have courage enough; if women's you have meetly well passed the pikes already, and therein should be skilful. So

[1] Birch, ii. 388.

praying you not to be too secret from your best friends, I end, beseeching the Almighty to bless you ever in his highest favor, while I am, your mother, dearliest loving you,

L. LEICESTER.

Sir William Knollys, about whom the quarrel originated, writes to him, "Remember, I beseech you, "that there is no contesting between sovereignty and "obedience, and I fear the longer your Lordship doth "persist in this careless humour of Her Majesty, the "more her heart will be hardened; and I pray God "your contending with her in this manner do not "breed such a hatred in her as will never be re-"claimed."[1]

On the 14th August, a battle was fought at the Blackwater, between the Irish rebels under Tyrone, or the O'Neil, as he called himself, and the Queen's troops, in which the English commander, Sir H. Bagnall, was slain with 1500 men, and a complete defeat sustained. This appears to have roused Essex, who wrote to the Queen the following letter, by which it also appears that fresh offence had been taken at his refusal to attend the Council when summoned by the Lord Keeper. This letter is of the end of August, or beginning of September.

No. CXLIX.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

As I had not gone into exile of myself, if your Maj. had not chased me from you as you did, so was I ever ready to have

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Add. MSS. 6177.

taken hold of any warrant that your Maj. could have given me for my return. But when your Maj. would neither endure that your friends should plead for me to you, nor by their visitations give cõmfort unto me, and that I heard your indignation did take hold of all things that might feed it, and that you did willingliest hear those that did kindle it, I said to myself

> "Mene evertere tantus
> Diis Superis labor est, parva quam puppe sedentem
> Tam magno petiere mari —
> Intrepidus quamcunque datis mihi numina mortem
> Accipiam;"

yet when the unhappy news came from yonder cursed co[illegible] of Ireland, and that I apprehended how much your [illegible] would be grieved to hear your armies beaten, and [illegible] kingdoms like to be conquered by the son of a smith, [illegible] was strong enough to rouse me out of the deadest m[illegible] choly; I posted up and first offered my attendance after poor advice to your Maj. But your Maj. rejected both and my letter: the cause, as I hear, was that I refused to give counsel when I was last called to my Lord Keeper. But if your Maj. had not already judged this cause, or that I might appeal from your indignation to your justice, I then should think your Maj., if you had once heard me, would clear me from all undutifulness. First, I did nothing but that which the greatest, gravest, and most esteemed councillor that ever your Maj. had, did when himself bare less discomfort, and the cause was less dangerous. Secondly, I did not refuse utterly to give counsel, but desired to be first heard of your Maj. yourself. Lastly, as I am sworn to give counsel to your Maj., and not to your Council, so that which I was and am to deliver is fit to be heard only by yourself. Some general heads my last letter contained, and so might this; but your Maj. would not be satisfied with them if I did not expound them, and lay open every one of their parts if

your Maj. will hear me. I stay in this place for no other purpose but to attend your commandment. If this answer be agreeable to the last, then *quid nisi tota superunt* from your Majesty's servant, in whom you would fain discourage better endeavors than ever you shall find elsewhere.

We have seen that Essex was ill at Wanstead on the 7th September, and was at Court, and apparently in great favor, on the 3rd October. I now lay before the reader a letter written by him to the Queen, in the interval between those dates; by which it appears that his restoration to favor was preceded by mutual complaints of each other.

No. CL.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Madam,—I received from your Maj. a message by Mr. Gerard, that you valued yourself at as great a price as I valued myself. Surely, Madam, I am sorry your Maj. should think you might gather this comparison from any thing that hath passed from me; for, besides that I know how low my state and fortune is in comparison of your Maj. high estate, I do confess that, as a man, I have been more subject to your natural beauty, than as a subject to the power of a king; for your own justice doth conclude this within law, but the other my affection made to be infinite. When I did hope, I sold my liberty to be a servant to my love, but since your Maj. hath driven me to despair, I seek, Madam, but as yet I find nothing but that I am free from all joy. To your Maj. I wish what your heart most desireth, but to myself nothing

[1] Hulton MSS.

that this world can afford me. Your Maj. most humble servant,

London, this 20th Sept. R. ESSEX.

If we may judge by the letter of the Lord Keeper to Essex on the 15th October, the appearance of favor which others have reported was only outward: secret discontent still filled the mind of the Earl. This letter has been so frequently printed, th[illegible] shall only make such extracts from it as are n[illegible] sary to enable the reader to understand Essex's re[illegible] The Lord Keeper tells Essex that he should [illegible] contemn the advice of any of those who love l[illegible] among whom none exceed himself in true and ho[illegible] affection; that if he holds his course in this long [illegible] unseasonable discontentment, he will find the e[illegible] worse than the beginning; that he is doing for his enemies that which they could not do for themselves; while he leaves his friends to shame and contempt; forsakes his country, which has need of his counsels; and fails in his indissoluble duty to his sovereign. He advises him not to contend and strive, but humbly to submit. "Have you given cause, and yet take "scandal to yourself? Why, then, all you can do is "too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandal "given to you? Let policy, duty, and religion enforce "you to yield, and submit to your sovereign, between "whom and you there can be no proportion of duty." .... "The difficulty, my good Lord, is to conquer "yourself, which is the height of all true valor and "fortitude, whereunto all your honorable actions

"have tended. Do it in this, and God will be "pleased, Her Majesty well satisfied, your country "will take good, and your friends comfort by it; "yourself shall receive honor; and your enemies, if "you have any, shall be disappointed of their bitter-"sweet hope."

Essex replied to the Keeper's admonitory letter on the 18th.

No. CLI.[1]

Essex to the Lord Keeper.

My very good Lord, — Although there is not that man this day living, whom I would sooner make a judge of any question that did concern me than yourself, yet must you give me leave to tell you, that in such a case I must appeal from all earthly judges; and if in any, then surely in this, where the highest judge on earth has imposed on me, without trial or hearing, the most heavy judgment that ever hath been known; but since I must either answer your Lordship's arguments, or forsake my just defence, I will force mine aching head to do me some service for a small hour or two, although against my will. I must, then, first deny my discontentment, which was forced, to be any humorous discontentment, and that it was unseasonable, or of too long continuance. Your Lordship should rather condole with me than expostulate about the same: natural seasons are expected here below, but violent and unseasonable storms come from above. There is no tempest comparable to the passionate indignation of a prince; nor yet at any time is it so unseasonable, as when it lighteth upon those who might expect a

[1] Lansd. MSS. 87. 52. There are few collections without a copy of these two letters.

harvest of their careful and painful labors. He that is once wounded must feel smart while his hurt be cured, or that the part be senseless; but no cure I expect, Her Majesty's heart being obdurate against me: and to be without sense I cannot, being made of flesh and blood. But, say you, I may aim at the end. I do more than aim, for I see an end of all my good fortunes, and have set an end to my desires. In this course do I any thing for mine enemies? When I was in the Court, I found them absolute; and, therefore, I [illegible] rather they should triumph alone, than they should have [illegible] attendant on their chariots. Do I leave my friends? [illegible] I was a courtier, I could yield them no fruits of my [illegible] unto them. Now I am become an hermit, they shall bea[illegible] envy for their love towards me. Do I forsake my [illegible] because I do enjoy myself? Or do I overthrow my fort[illegible] for that I build not a fortune of paper walls, which e[illegible] puff of wind bloweth down? Do I ruinate mine h[illegible] because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false badge or mark of the shadow of honor? Do I give courage and comfort to the foreign foe, because I reserve myself to encounter with him, or because I keep my heart from baseness, although I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, my good Lord, I give every one of these considerations its due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my country when it hath most need of me, and fail in my indissoluble duty which I owe unto my sovereign, I answer, that if my country had at this time any need of my public service, Her Majesty, that governs the same, would not have driven me into a private kind of life. I am tied unto my country by two bands; in public place, to discharge faithfully, carefully, and industriously, the trust which is committed unto me; and the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcase which

hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am freed, being dismissed, discharged, and disabled by Her Majesty. Of the other nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occasion of my performance shall offer itself, but I will meet it halfway. The indissoluble duty which I owe to Her Majesty is only the duty of allegiance, which I never will, nor never can, fail in. The duty of attendance is no indissoluble duty. I owe to Her Majesty the duty of an Earl and Lord Marshal of England. I have been content to do Her Majesty the service of a clerk, but can never serve her as a villain or slave. But yet, you say, I must give way unto the time. So I do; for now I see the storm come, I put myself into the harbor. Seneca saith, we must give place unto fortune; I know that fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far out of her way as I can. You say the remedy is, not to strive; I neither strive, nor seek for remedy. But, say you, I must yield and submit; I can neither yield myself to be guilty, or this imputation laid upon me to be just. I owe so much to the author of all truth, as I can never yield falsehood to be truth, nor truth falsehood. Have I given cause, ask you, and take scandal when I have done? No, I give no cause to take so much as Fimbria's complaint against me, for I did *totum telum corpore recipere.* I patiently bear all, and sensibly feel all, that I then received when this scandal was given me. Nay more, when the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion enforce me to sue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? What, cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power or authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my good Lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes shew to have no sense of prince's injuries; let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do

not believe in an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, and feel it. My cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever come, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed on me.

Your Lordship in the beginning made yourself a looker on, and me a player of my own game; so you can see more than I can, yet must you give me leave to tell you in the end of my answer, that since you do but see, and I suffer, I must of necessity feel more than you do. I must crave your Lordship's patience to give him that hath a crabbed fortune license to use a crabbed style; and yet whatsoever my [illegible] is, there is no heart more humble to his superiors, nor more affected to your Lordship, than that of your honour's poor friend,

ESSEX.

One might imagine, from the tone of this letter, also that Essex had not in the first place given offence to the Queen by an act of disrespect; a view I should certainly take, did any single authority support it; but Camden is quite clear in his relation, and whether the blow were in reality unprovoked by him or not, Lord Essex must still bear the discredit of having treated his Queen with contempt.

The Countess of Northumberland wrote to him about this time: it certainly required the partial mind of a sister to invest him with the quality of patience.

No. CLII.[1]

Countess of Northumberland to Essex.

Dear Brother,—I cannot but desire to know how the Court air and humors agree with you. If both sort with your health and contentment, none shall be more glad; if otherwise, I will hope that your wisdom and patience, which have ever accompanied you, will be a remedy against all evils; to which companions I leave your worthy mind, remaining your most affectionate sister,

D. NORTHUMBERLAND.

After the death of Lord Burghley, the Earl of Essex was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He appears to have had considerable influence there previously: there are in the British Museum two letters, written by him to the Master and Fellows of St. John's, in which he desires them to elect fellows of his nomination. When he went down to Cambridge to be installed, he was nobly entertained at Queen's College; the room he lodged in is still called Essex Chamber. Among other amusements, the "pleasant comedy of Lelia was "excellently acted before him."

[1] Birch, ii. 392.

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